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The Bibliophilic Transactions of
James Lenox with Bernard Quaritch,
1874-1880*

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JAMES LENOX and Bernard Quaritch had one thing in common—they were bibliophiles interested in intellectual culture. Otherwise no two men could have been as far apart in background and objectives.¹

Quaritch was born in 1819 at Worbis in Prussia. His father had been a volunteer in the Prussian Army from 1813 to 1815. After the war he became a pensioned officer, and then married a lady of moderate means. In 1828 the elder Quaritch died a tragic death, leaving his son Bernhard, as then called, a half orphan. It

* Read at the Society's meeting 26 June 1946.

¹ This study is based upon the hitherto unused correspondence between Mr. Lenox and Mr. Quaritch from 1874-1880; Part VIII of Bernard Quaritch's *Contributions towards a Dictionary of English Book Collectors, as also of some Foreign Collectors whose Libraries were incorporated in English Collections, or whose Books are chiefly met with in England* . . . (London, Quaritch, 1892-1921). C. W. H. Wyman's biographical sketch of Quaritch: *A Biographical & Bibliographical Fragment*, No. 1 in the series of the *Sette of Odd Volumes* [London, 1880], 22 pp.; obituary sketch by Otto von Schleinitz, in: *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, III Jahrg., Heft 11-12 (February-March, 1900), pp. 454-456; Henry Stevens' *Recollections of James Lenox* (London, Henry Stevens & Son, 1887), and other unpublished sources and original researches.

is said that the widow Quaritch was given by the government a continuing pension of her deceased husband as a special grant, so that the boy might be educated.

In 1834 young Quaritch was apprenticed to one König, a dealer in new books at Nordhausen on the Zorge River, a place for centuries an imperial city, which became Prussian in 1803, and after a few years under Westphalia was returned again to Prussia. The Nordhausen apprenticeship lasted till 1839. It had soon become evident that he was not fitted to the limitations of a mere helper, because he possessed a mind of his own full of intelligence. Herr König, realizing this, introduced him into the experience of book-auctions, and from it eventuated young Quaritch's first book catalogue. The results of this catalogue were so significant in sales, that Herr König attended another auction to replenish his stock, and it resulted similarly in a business success. At this time Quaritch's habit was to retire with regularity at ten P.M. and arise at two to four A.M., to pursue studies. Here in Nordhausen he met two Englishmen, from whom he learned the English language, and read with them Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*.

In 1839 he left the employ of König to take a job in Berlin with a book publisher named Kleeman. Here, though earning little, he managed to lay aside savings by confining his breakfasts to a piece of bread and a glass of water. He left Berlin in 1842 for London, where he was employed by Henry George Bohn of York Street, Covent Garden, in a subordinate capacity; but here he laid the groundwork for future success, and in the two years with Bohn, to some degree, may be traced the origin of the remarkable fund of booklore which he subsequently acquired. It was here that he made the acquaintance of Lowndes, of the *Bibliographer's Manual*, who was then in Bohn's employ. On more than one occasion Quaritch aided gladly the failing old man in the performance of his duties with intelligence and energy. It is said that Lowndes, who died on July 31, 1843, almost expired in his arms.

The years 1844 and 1845 Quaritch spent in Paris in the employ

of the bookseller Théophile Barrois, who had "no little notoriety at the time" and "was distinguished for his shrewd and forceful phrases, and the humor with which he hit off the lighter and less commonplace aspects of life in the book-trade." From M. Barrois he no doubt caught some of the spirit that afterwards characterized his own "peculiar humor and laconic quaintness." In Paris he met the bibliographer Brunet, who predicted Quaritch's future eminence as a bookseller, even as Lowndes had anticipated it in somewhat like utterance two years before.

By 1846 he was back again with Bohn, with whom he continued into the next year, during which time he compiled the 1847 classified volume of Bohn's Catalogue, which was in its general arrangement, and in accuracy, far more creditable than Bohn's "Guinea Catalogue" of 1841. He also used some of his time acting as a correspondent for the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

Now, in 1847, there was a significant turn in the life of Mr. Quaritch—he quitted Bohn's employ to embark in his own business. On parting from Bohn he said to him: "Mr. Bohn, you are the first bookseller in England, but I propose to become the first bookseller in Europe." He started with an iron will; but on a small scale, because of his limited pecuniary resources. In November of 1847 he issued his first catalogue, a mere broadside entitled: *Quaritch's Cheap Book Circular*, having about four hundred titles, in three columns, priced mostly at an average of from eighteen pence to two shillings. From this humble beginning his career, so distinguished, grew as a sturdy oak from an acorn.

By 1858 Quaritch was well established. In that year he bought at the London auction of Bishop Cashel's Library a copy of the 42-line Latin Bible for £595; also in that year he published his first large Catalogue of Books, 182 pages, containing some 5,000 items. From here on his business prospered, and his extensive purchases had a distinct influence on the market prices. In 1863 he was the principal buyer at the Alstein auction in Ghent, and after that attended all great book auctions in person.

At the Perkins sale in 1873 his purchases of books and manuscripts amounted to £11,000 out of a total for that sale of £25,000. It was through the acquisitions from the Perkins sale, added to his otherwise fine stock, that he was able to publish in October, 1873, his landmark catalogue: *Bibliotheca Xylographica, Typographica, et Palaeographica. Catalogue of Block-books, and Early Productions of the Printing-press in all Countries*; and a *Supplement of Manuscripts*, an octavo of iv, 167 pp., describing chronologically nearly 1,300 works from early presses. It was the first catalogue of the kind ever attempted by a bookseller, and established him as an expert in the bibliography of printing. But there were greater catalogues to come later, as is well known to all bibliographers.

In his great 1874 catalogue he remarked upon the cost of such an undertaking and the great capital required to acquire such a stock, wondering if it could ever be done again "owing to the rarity of good old books and the fact that, financially considered, the capital required to obtain such a large and expensive stock," brought in from sales "less than the percentage of profit readily secured by ordinary investment." And he also wondered if "any bookseller" would "be blessed with such uniform good-health, such universality of range in all branches of literature and such a devotion to his trade." Time alone would tell!

The year 1874 was indeed memorable for him. At the Sir William Tite sale of that year his purchases amounted to £9,500. Later he bought the "most valuable portion" of the remainder-stock of Mr. Bohn, his one-time employer, and persuaded himself to carry on a more retail business. In 1878 at the first Didot sale in Paris he spent 147,000 francs (£5,880), and at the second Didot sale in 1879 nearly 143,000 francs (£5,720). These acquisitions led to his *magnum opus*, the Catalogue of 1880, six and one-half inches thick. Its preface is a treatise on the philosophy of bookselling and bookbuying. His purchases at the Beckford sale of 1882, and the Sunderland sales of 1881-1883 were very great.

The last sale that he attended in person was the third and final May, 1898 portion of the Ashburnham auction, where he took the lion's share. His motto was that "for a really rare book no price was too high for him." Though a bookseller, he was also a bibliophile, and possessor of a fine private library. He started out to become in his day the first bookseller in Europe, but when he died on December 17, 1899, he was acknowledged to be in both hemispheres "The Napoleon of Booksellers."

In his *Dictionary* of book collectors, part VIII (December 1896), Mr. Quaritch gave his opinions of Mr. Lenox. He had little opportunity to know him apart from business transactions, and his judgments of Mr. Lenox were therefore of little value as to his personality—quite different from the analysis of Henry Stevens in his *Recollections of James Lenox*. Quaritch credited Mr. Lenox with being "the most genuine and learned of all American book collectors," and said he had an awareness that Americana was "only part of a general study of the history of Humanity—civilised and civilising Humanity such as he conceived it. Here only was his limitation." He said of him: "Mr. Lenox loved his books with the grave veneration one bestows upon the monuments of family history; not with the affection that subsists between friend and friend." So far, so good. This was bibliophilic understanding. But Quaritch did not know the background of Mr. Lenox, even if he had read Stevens' *Recollections*. To him Mr. Lenox was motivated largely by an upbringing in "rigid Presbyterianism," that had been modified through visits in Europe in great libraries and by learning so far as "to appreciate the works of art and science which had been produced by the Papistical heathens of the late Middle Ages."

When the business intercourse began between them in 1874 Mr. Lenox was already an old man. Mr. Quaritch was aged fifty-five years. By coincidence Stevens, like Quaritch, was born in 1819; but he was under thirty when he met Mr. Lenox for the first time, and had more than a quarter of a century of most inti-

mate relations from which to make up his mind about the personality of Mr. Lenox. To Stevens, Mr. Lenox was a "modest and retiring character" and "a man of few words and few intimate friends, but of varied information, much studious reading, extensive correspondence and many books." He knew him to be "ever most generous and charitable," but one who "manifested a dislike of being indebted to strangers or neighbors for hints as to his public or private duties; nor would he tolerate any interference in his own charitable impulses. He staked out his own course, hoed his own row, paddled his own canoe and revelled silently in his own generous suggestions, which began literally at home in his own bosom." But Stevens thought that in some things Mr. Lenox carried his notions too far; "yet with all his set ways he was ever tolerant in granting to others the same privileges and pleasures of the mind-your-own-business principles and habits which he uniformly assumed and practised for himself." He said that "by some he was thought proud, aristocratic, distant and haughty, but those who entertained or expressed such opinions of him did not know him." So to Mr. Stevens Mr. Lenox "always appeared diffident (almost bashful), simple-hearted, generous, kind, very pious, very retiring and very close-mouthed to outsiders, but as communicative as a child to his intimates; and especially to those in sympathy with his projects and pursuits;" and that he "shunned notoriety with the same ardour that others sought it." In these and other estimates Stevens all but penetrated behind the veil that separated Mr. Lenox's outward self from the holy of holies within him.

James Lenox took his B.A. degree at Columbia College in 1818, just before he was eighteen years of age, and in 1821 attained his master's degree there, for which occasion he wrote a philosophical thesis entitled: *On the Influence of Self-love upon the Understanding and Character*. This thesis was an argument for a life of selflessness. One can see in it a platform for his own life to which he conformed with rigidity. He made inquiry "into the injurious effects

of self-love, as acting through the medium of a confined application of attention," and then showed "its influence upon the character as one of the most abundant sources of human degradation and misery." From this thesis of more than twenty-seven written pages in his small, neat hand, on quarto paper, dated July 24, 1821, we quote only some conclusive dicta, reserving for another occasion the full impact of this essay as revelatory of his youthful thinking. Here is his conclusion:—

Divest pride, vanity and ambition of the influence of self-love, and their effects are not productive of evil. Without it, vanity is converted into a wish and a laudable wish for approbation. Without it, pride is that dignity which is caused by a consciousness of good and pure motives, and the love and practise of virtue: and ambition, divested of it, is the desire of power to be subservient only to the noblest purposes. Until the happy time arrive, when this subtlest enemy of mankind is driven from its stronghold in the human breast, we may be examining our own hearts, and by being convinced how often it governs our actions, be inclined to make allowance for its operations in the hearts of others. For though it may not possess so predominant an influence over us, yet, in this case "if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." And let us by this self-examination be led to the cultivation of those benevolent affections, which have been implemented in our bosoms by a kind Power, for the purpose of aiding us in our exertions to drive this demon from its seat. By nourishing them, what a change will take place in our feelings!—for let our hearts be softened by the distress, or let them be warmed by gratitude for the favors, of those, whom to condemn was once our most agreeable employment, and the very actions which were then censured, will, when viewed through the medium of benevolence, be considered as not only innocent, but highly commendable. When these virtues have taken root, and are grounded in our hearts, we shall experience a degree of peace, which no calamities can destroy, and in the consciousness of contributing to the happiness of others, find the sweet foundation for our own.

The catalogue issued by Quaritch in October, 1873, already mentioned, could not fail to impress Mr. Lenox upon examining it. He was at this time busy with the construction of his foundation—the Lenox Library on Fifth Avenue, from 70th to 71st Streets, in the City of New York. Mr. Lenox was both President and Treasurer of the Library's Board of Trustees. The building and permanent funds were given to them by Mr. Lenox; but he con-

tinued to pay for book purchases additionally, whether billed in his name or in the name of the corporation. Not till April, 1876, when the building was so far ready as to receive from him some of his collections, did Mr. Lenox make additional gifts of money to the trustees for acquisitions. He then established a book purchasing fund of ten thousand dollars, which sum was invested in New York County Bonds. It is well to remember this. It shows that he was continuing to build his collections at considerable expenditure from his personal funds, and he so continued to do while he lived.

The bibliophilic transactions of James Lenox with Bernard Quaritch began on March 9, 1874, through a letter he wrote to Mr. Quaritch, inquiring "about certain books" in the forthcoming Sir William Tite sale, and he asked him to advise him respecting "his usual rate of remuneration" as an agent. Quaritch in his reply on the twenty-seventh assured Mr. Lenox that he himself was "a buyer of typographical rarities and everything relating to America." On the direct question he said: "I execute commissions always in the same manner as if I bought for myself. For the last 20 years I have either been the buyer or *underbidder* of every good book sold in the London market. My Catalogue of typographical Monuments will show to you the extent of my own stock." He added: "In matters of commission a gentleman must trust his agent to a large extent; I buy for several very eminent collectors and I believe to their satisfaction. I alone bought nearly half the Perkins coll[ection] 11,000 of 26,000£." Then, in a new paragraph, pointing a hand , he stated: "I always buy as low as I can, no matter how high my commission is. I require no advances.—My charge for buying is 10% commission on the prices of books fetched on amounts of £40 & under and 5% on books fetching over £40. There is a small charge for packing, insurance and trifling incidental expenses." This was fair enough and comported with practices familiar to Mr. Lenox.

Quaritch now baited his hook to catch the prospective wealthy bibliophile. He told Mr. Lenox that "nearly all the best book-

buyers in the U. S." employed him now and bought from him; therefore, he averred, he was "well versed in all practical business transactions with America, such as forwarding, packing & insuring the goods," and that all valuable books were collated by him after purchase at a sale. Adding then an extra bait to his hook, Quaritch wrote: "I sincerely hope you will favor me with your commissions, the commission you pay me you will amply recoup by superseding me as an opponent."

Even before this letter was written, Mr. Quaritch, on March 16, had urged upon Mr. Lenox the purchase of his "extraordinary collection of Block-books, fully described in a recent Catalogue"; alleging that such a collection did "not exist anywhere."

Mr. Lenox had ordered through Quaritch some books, but had failed to procure any of them, which "greatly mortified" Quaritch. Mr. Lenox had intimated his conclusion to buy the block-books, and this led Quaritch, on April 21, to elaborate his claims for them and to express the wish, if he had the time, to deliver them in person in New York. He offered the lot for £2,000; but if only some were desired, the catalogue prices per item were to govern. "To show you my bona fides in this matter," he wrote, "I propose to send the Collection subject to your refusal, if you think any of the articles have been wrongly described. If you send your order by telegraph you are surer of the bargain. There is a gentleman anxious to buy the collection, but he thinks that it cannot escape him."

At the same time he advised Mr. Lenox that he would send to him for inspection any books from his catalogues, so that he might see beforehand what he was buying; and that any from his stock that were not correctly described could be returned.

It was in this letter of April 21, 1874, that Quaritch made clear to Mr. Lenox the operation of the London ring of booksellers who were engaged in the "knock-out." Mr. Lenox had known something about this practice from Henry Stevens long before; but Quaritch's explanation is worth citing, thus: "You speak of a

ring existing at the London sale rooms; their power *against you* is simply nil. As a rule I stand out and bid for myself, and when I am out, the power of the *knock-outs* (or ring) is nothing at all, because I bid for everything. The power of the Knock-outs is ludicrously overrated. I alone buy more first-class books than all the knock-out men put together; in small sales of *common* books, which I do not attend, the fraternity saves a few pounds, which they divide equally amongst themselves. I am *as a rule* their dea[d]liest foe."

Mr. Lenox had bought two Caxtons from Quaritch that seemed to be "insufficiently described," which Quaritch regretted. He said they were "in their original condition, *not washed or cleaned*, in that state Early printed books are usually preferred." He now had five other Caxtons, and offered to send them to Mr. Lenox for inspection. But the burden of the correspondence now pertained to the collection of eight block-books. Mr. Lenox already possessed some, and by adding to them Quaritch professed that Mr. Lenox's collection would become "the best in the world."

The rarest and most important block-book in the Quaritch lot, which is yet the best in The New York Public Library, if not in all America, is entitled, in old German: *Eine Vorrede Das Puch Haist Wochenlich Andacht zu Seligkait der Weltlichen Menschen*, a combination of German blackletter manuscript text, with 69 xylographic hand-colored block prints, all of them printed directly on the 17 leaves of heavy vellum, about 1450 according to modern judgment; but in the nineteenth century placed at about the year 1400! It is bound in oak boards, covered with hogskin. Most of the block prints remained undescribed before 1935, when all were catalogued *en forme* by Dr. Frank Weitenkamp for his list of "Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Prints in the Collection of The New York Public Library," in: *Bulletin*, Vol. 38:921-924 (November 1934). This remarkable volume was formerly in the library of Friedrich Georg Culemann (1811-1886), printer, and a sena-

tor of Hanover. His collection was sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge of London, on February 7, 1870, and this book, item No. 191, was bought then by Quaritch for £120, who later catalogued it, separately, at £650.

Quaritch considered the *Wochenliche Andacht* to be unique. He said he had not found it—"only cut up fragments of kindred books"—during his visits to "the Public Libraries in England, Paris, Berlin, Leipsic, Vienna, and Munich." However, it is known that a similar series of a manuscript with block-prints, but with the cuts actually pasted on, was in the Munich print room, namely, a work called *Gulden Püchlein* of 1450, as described, with reproductions, in the publication for 1918 of the Graphische Gesellschaft of Berlin; and some of the cuts in this Munich volume were similar to ours.—See also Schreiber's *Handbuch*,² Vol. 7:24; H. Meyer, in Heitz's *Einblattdrucke des 15 Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg, 1936); and the British Museum (Additional MSS. 15,712)³ has also a typical item of twenty-six rude woodcuts pasted down in blank spaces.

The foregoing particulars are given because they are more reliable than those known at the time of the Lenox-Quaritch transaction of 1874. When Mr. Lenox received the volume he saw that a corner of a leaf was torn off and called Quaritch's attention to it, alleging that he understood the book was complete. Quaritch, on July 20, countered: "It was stated in *one of my letters* . . . Is it not almost a *miracle* that the volume should have reached us at all? The book is absolutely unique, both as to its contents and its family. I consider it a national disgrace to the British Nation that you should have secured this treasure. For America it is an honor and a glory, that one of its citizens should have had the superior discernment and the spirit to snatch the book away from rich England. The volume is *and always* will be the corner-stone

² Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz-und Metallschnitte des 15. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1926-1929). Bd. 1-7.

³ British Museum. Department of Manuscripts. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts . . . in the Years MDCCCXLVI-MDCCCXLVII*. [London], 1864.

of a great Library. The supineness of the British Museum authorities in losing this article is simply deplorable."

Another item in the block-book lot offered by Quaritch was a Bible history or *Biblia Germanica*, a crude manuscript on paper, written in German, with a date 1445 on a page containing one of the numerous colored biblical drawings, this one showing the Prophet Samuel, King Saul, and the Witch of Endor, at the base of which appears "[a]nno dñi mccccxlv da wart dis gemachet," etc. But the greater distinction lies in a xylographic woodcut large initial letter A at the beginning of Genesis. This item appeared in Quaritch's General Catalogue of 1874, no. 20.

Mr. Lenox was given an option of a month in which to purchase the block-books. He could not readily decide because of discrepancies in the listing and pricing, and he was averse to having them sent on approval; because that would be too troublesome, and he frequently declined offers under similar circumstances. Quaritch was willing to bring them to New York, but Mr. Lenox frankly told him: "If you came to this country, I should like you to see my books, but at this moment they are in such a transition state, awaiting the completion of the building, that they cannot be conveniently examined." The upshot of the matter was an arrangement by which Mr. Lenox took six of them—the two already described and these four:

Apocalypsis Sancti Johannes, in Latin, on vellum, manuscript with colored drawings, according to DeRicci's *Census*,⁴ p. 1318, no. 15, done in France. The designs are similar to those that appeared in later printed editions. It formerly belonged to the Abbaye de Citeaux of Bourgogne. It cost £125. It was offered in Quaritch's General Catalogue of 1874, no. 141. According to a recent examination (1945) made by F. Saxl, author of *A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages*, he considers this manuscript of German origin during the first half of the fifteenth century, and

⁴ Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson. *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York, H. W. Wilson Company, 1937. 2 vols.

says it is from the same workshop as two others described by him and G. Bing's *The Apocalypse Block-Books and their Manuscript Models*, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. V (London, 1942). These references I have not verified.

Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis, printed in Germany, 5th edition, circa 1470, a variant of Schreiber IV:165-166. It is the Brienne-Buckingham-Sir Thomas Corser copy. Quaritch dated it absurdly as "circa 1420."

Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis, an edition formerly the Seymour Kirkup copy.

Speculum humanae salvationis, in Latin. First edition, fine copy, originally priced by Quaritch at £850. The text of Ludolphus de Saxonia in black movable type, with brown woodcut impressions at the top of each page. Now credited to Utrecht, circa 1471 (Schreiber IV:116), 64 leaves. It is the former J. B. Inglis copy.

These six items were purchased by Mr. Lenox, May 29, 1874, for £1,885. At the same time he bought from Quaritch a copy of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr (Hispani, 1511)⁵ for £100. In the same letter of May 29 Mr. Lenox declined to buy the Perkins copy of the 42-line Bible, saying he was satisfied with his own; but he questioned "the authority for the statements" made in Quaritch's catalogue "respecting Guttenberg & Fust on which these statements were founded." On May 29, being "no longer bound to secrecy," Quaritch told Mr. Lenox that this Bible had been sold to Henry Huth.

While these transactions were being consummated, Mr. Lenox gave Quaritch a number of bids for the Sir William Tite sale in the offing. Joseph Sabin also attended that sale and bought some Shakespeareana for Mr. Lenox. But the total purchases which Quaritch made for him were greater, amounting with commissions to £1,386, 18s. (Bill dated June 6, 1874.)

These Tite sale items included by numbers:

67. Apocalypse block-book, printed in Germany, circa 1470,

⁵ i.e., Seville, Jakob Kromberger, 1511.

sixth edition (Schreiber IV:167), the M. T. Weigel-J. B. Chevalier de Bearzi-M. Pioche-Tite copy, which the sale catalogue dated as "circa 1420," showing the continuing incorrect notion of Heineken and other early bibliographers that block-books were experimental and preceded the invention of typography.

69. Appolonius, in German, with woodcuts like old block-books, printed at Augsburg by Hannsen Froschauer, 1516.

578. Caxton's *Mirroure of the Worlde*, [1490]. This Quaritch thought to be "decidely the best book in the sale in such a condition."

628. The Pynson Chaucer, *circa* 1491-1492.

676. Cocker's *Arithmetick*, rare first edition, London, 1678.

589. Cervantes. *Don Quixote*, Madrid, 1608.

1904. Luther's German Catechism, Nürnberg, 1531.

3246. Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christen Man*, printed at Marlborrow in the lande of Hesse, 1535.

3247. Tyndale's Parable of the Wicked Mammon, London, printed by William Copland, 1549, a favorite book of Anne Boleyn.

3507. Wycliffe's New Testameñt, written about 1420, on finest uterine vellum, and with illuminated borders and initials, in burnished gold. The text Purvey's revision. Bound in 1661, with clasps, and well-preserved. On a flyleaf is written an impromptu poem in English by Jo: Booker, dated "12 Nouembris 1661" that was "inspired" on "casually seeing this booke as it came from the binding." As it is faultily described in DeRicci's *Census*,⁴ Vol. II:1325, no. 66, a correction of the provenance is given. It was bought in May 1576 by Robert Ardern of Barwick for twenty shillings from one Englatt, of Norwich; given in exchange, October 23, 1661, by Anthony Webster, of London, to Richard Shaxton, whose widow Katherine gave it July 10, 1664 to Thomas Hariot. It got into the possession of Francis Fry, Quaker bibliophile and private dealer, who sold it to Sir William Tite, and at the Tite sale of 1874, no. 3507, Quaritch bought it for Mr. Lenox

for £24, so that in three hundred years its sale-price had gone up from one to twenty-four pounds. Fry said he got it from a not important collection, which must have been "Anstruther of Balcaskie," the name on the nineteenth-century armorial bookplate pasted on the back cover.

3549. Robert Burns's letter to Robert Cleghorn, March 31, 1788, in which he apologized for a song he had enclosed, saying that a farming project of his had so harassed him that his muse "degenerated into the veriest prose-wench that ever picked cinders, or followed a tinker;" and no. 3550, a Burns letter to "Clarinda" (Mrs. M'Lehose), catalogued as a capital specimen, which it is, concluding: "Here am I set, a solitary hermit, in a solitary room of a solitary inn, with a solitary bottle of wine by me, as grave and as stupid as an owl—but like that owl still faithful to my old song; in confirmation of which, my dear Mrs. Mack, here is your good health! May the hand-wal'd bennisons o' Heaven bless your bonie face; and wratch wha skellies at your welfare, may the auld tinker deil get him to clout his rotten heart! Amen!"

It would be interesting, did time permit, to describe other letters secured in this year's purchases from Quaritch and the Tite sale—specimens of Coleridge, Cowper, Dr. Johnson, Pope, and one of the finest holograph letters of Goldsmith to David Garrick, July 20, 1767, with Garrick's draft of a reply written on the back; of Boswell, Allan Ramsay, Hume, and Benjamin Franklin. Mr. Lenox was not really sold on the autographs. He was willing to "yield them all" to Quaritch, but finally kept them. He confessed to Quaritch he was no collector of them, and only kept them because it would have been too troublesome to send them back. He wanted no more autographs "on inspection."

When Quaritch failed to buy item 3119, a little French Testament (Louvain, 1686) in the Tite sale, which Mr. Lenox had twice commissioned him to buy, he was irked, saying: "I have been in search of this book for 10 years" and "I wanted it above all the

others. Now that it was within my grasp & when I supposed I had expressed to you the wish to buy it, that it should be snatched from me is a disappointment indeed. That you should find another 'in course of time' say 10 years more is possible, but shall I be here to buy it?" With Quaritch the loss was looked upon as "the fortune of war," which he said "varies." "A sale," he said, "is like a battle, even after winning a brilliant victory." He alluded again to this simile (July 22): "Sales by auction resemble battles;—as long as 'victory' falls to your colors, the rest must not be too scrupulously bemoaned. I try to do the best for my employers, my own profit is a minor consideration. I trust you will continue to favor me with your orders and your commissions." However, he later informed Mr. Lenox that the Earl of Crawford was the buyer of the French Testament and he would "ask whether he will give it up." Lord Crawford did, and Mr. Lenox was both grateful to him and happy himself.

On June 12, 1874, Quaritch complimented Mr. Lenox upon the purchase of his block-book collection. "Though advertized by me in my Catalogue," he wrote, "I have always looked upon it with affection as my *private* property, rather than goods for sale. However I am glad you will be the future possessor. For the last five years I have ardently devoted myself to America and American collectors and scholars. I have tried to become *the* London agent of all the best men there. I was extremely gratified when you addressed yourself direct to me. I shall do everything in my power to give you satisfaction. If at any time you will send to me a List of Desiderata, I will print and circulate it at my expense. The result may be small, but still there will be a result. I have thus obtained many rarities for English and American customers." He said he was sending Mr. Lenox's purchases by several shipments insured, but "would not risk their total loss by one shipwreck." One regret he had, that he could not himself deliver "these treasures" into Mr. Lenox's own hands; because, since "all the buying" was done by himself, he was to be absent from London "for

the next two months and a half," virtually all summer; "and by being everywhere" he expected "the chance of hitting upon some good books." In future he would see that Mr. Lenox received all his catalogues "before anybody else."

Replying on June 26, Mr. Lenox remarked: "I notice what you say about my addressing you directly. My first effort several years ago was eminently unsatisfactory. I was obliged to return three principal works, as they were imperfect, or did not correspond with their descriptions. I hope the present effort will not be as unfortunate for I dislike above all things to be obliged to take such a course. The disappointment is generally great." This is revealing, and I doubt if even Quaritch remembered the incident of "several years ago" by which he had at that time lost Mr. Lenox as a client.

In the letter just quoted, Mr. Lenox recalled to Quaritch: "You seem to suggest, as I believe you did once before, that you might be induced to come to this country. My books are not now in a position to be seen & will not be so until my new building is ready to receive them." But at the same time he intimated the sending of an order from Quaritch's Catalogue 291, amounting to from £500 to £1,000, reminding him the books ordered "must be perfect," unless he himself made "note of an exception."

Quaritch said he marvelled at the wealth of Mr. Lenox's "folio Shakespeares," and remarked: "If I live I shall look forward to the treat of making your personal acquaintance and seeing your wonderful Library." I feel sure that this personal acquaintance never was consummated. I have a hazy recollection that Quaritch visited the Lenox Library in the eighteen nineties. I do know that Quaritch's son and Mr. Dring of the firm later than that visited The New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations), because I met them on their separate visits.

In continuing their 1874 correspondence certain business formalities were established. Mr. Lenox's payments were to be wholly at his pleasure and convenience "after the receipt of the books."

Mr. Lenox, as was usual, paid his bills in London through sight drafts on the Barings. He requested his shipments to be addressed to the Lenox Library care of F. W. Christern of New York, through Williams & Norgate, of King William Street, London, which Quaritch agreed to for future purchases.

In July Quaritch went to Switzerland. During his absence his business was conducted, he said, by his "efficient staff," of whom A. Farley seems to have been in charge of shipments and billing; but Michael Kerney was his cataloguer and a scholar. Quaritch soon returned from his "hasty visit to Switzerland," where he "bought the entire remaining stock of Professor Agassiz's publications." On Mr. Lenox's recent quip about returning imperfect books Quaritch entered an alibi: "I do not remember ever having had three books returned to me by any American agent. I can boldly say, that my business is managed with more care than any other house in Europe. Henceforth our transactions will be much simpler, because you can return to me any book you order from my stock of which the description is unsatisfactory." And on visiting the United States he said: "I am so overwhelmed with work, that I cannot think of doing myself the pleasure of visiting the United States, where a large portion of my business is now lying. I have this treat in reserve for me." At this time he had remittances of £3,000 from Mr. Lenox.

The business methods of Quaritch are further revealed in a letter of August 4: "It is my constant endeavour to execute all the wishes of my customers; when a conflict arises between them, I am occasionally able to effect a friendly arrangement, in all cases to their advantage. There must always be some 'give and take' between collectors who are not determined to ruin each other. By some such arrangement I recently saved H. M. the Queen a considerable sum, Baron Rothschild in Paris whose commissions I also held giving up his commission in deference to her." As already shown, the Earl of Crawford had yielded an item from the Tite sale to Mr. Lenox, through Quaritch's intervention. The

Earl, Quaritch said, had been his customer for twenty years, and must have been satisfied, because the Earl recommended him "to all his friends." And so, it was Quaritch's "hope that in course of time" Mr. Lenox would "form such an opinion" of him and his establishment, that he too would think it deserved recommendation. He reminded him that for four years his nephew, Robert Lenox Kennedy, had been a client.

Another proposal to Mr. Lenox was made on August 18, namely, inducements to buy more from his great 1874 catalogue. Quaritch offered him no. 17546 the *Catholicon*, no. 17567 *Biblia Latina*, and no. 18096 the *Dante of Mantua*, 1472. The *Catholicon* and *Dante* were bought. An inducement was made on purchases from a catalogue three months after its issue, that if purchased within three months after the first period, a five per cent discount would be given on the catalogue prices on purchases amounting to less than one thousand pounds, and ten per cent on all above that amount.

Through commissions to Paris in April, 1875, Quaritch had secured for Mr. Lenox at the Benzon sale a fine paper copy of the *Poliphilus*, Venice, 1499, costing with all expenses 1440 francs (£57, 12s.). Benzon was a successful merchant and collector who had died. His library was sold partly in Paris and partly in London. Quaritch disparaged the Paris auction, which he did not attend, not because of the quality, but because the bookseller M. Bachelin, "not worth a shilling," had given "the Executors of Mr. Benzon 20% more or upon the prices paid by Mr. Benzon; the money Bachelin" having "borrowed from M. Didot and the commissionaire-prieur," or auctioneer—in other words a fixed sale; while the English sale was an executors' sale and all right. All of this grew out of Mr. Quaritch's bringing to Mr. Lenox's attention "three very beautiful and important articles" that he had "bought at a recent sale" and offered to Mr. Lenox "before any other American collector." One of these was the *Nicholas Jenson Latin Bible of Venice*, 1476, printed on finest vellum,

bound in morocco, gilt, in two volumes, by Lewis, which Mr. Lenox acquired at £403, 15s., net, and of which he had asked Quaritch the provenance.

No fifteenth-century printed book has intrigued me more among the Lenox possessions than this wonderfully printed and illuminated Bible. I was elated, therefore, to discover Quaritch's characterization wholly confirming my independent enthusiasm. No printed incunabulum has ever so fully filled me with that deepest, purest, bibliophilic feeling as this set—a thing to press to one's heart. Quaritch said he had never seen “a finer specimen of Vellum printing;” it was “in truth a magnificent book, both as regards the cleanness and fineness of the vellum, and the beauty of the impression, and also the ornamentation with illuminated capitals and miniatures.” He added: “In this latter respect it may rank with the choicer Italian MSS. of its time—the art exhibited in the decoration being equally chaste and elegant.” This copy of the Jenson Bible had been some fifty years in the Perkins Library and at the sale of that library in June, 1873 had been bought for Benzon.

On October 11, 1875, Mr. Lenox told Quaritch that he had returned to his home, on Fifth Avenue and Twelfth Street, “after several months' absence,” and had found an accumulation of books from him, but not yet the Jenson Bible; and Mr. Lenox let him know that he was hesitant, not having seen the Bible, whether it was “in all respects” such as Quaritch had “described it.” This was all a mistake, for Quaritch had sent the Bible on August 3 to Williams & Norgate to be forwarded to Christern in New York—and under that date the accession record of the Lenox Library shows it was billed.

It was in this communication that Mr. Lenox made a new arrangement. He wrote: “I am now about transferring all my books to the Library, I shall send you hereafter no *direct* orders.” Quaritch answered (October 25): “I regret to hear that for the future your orders will not [be] sent to me direct: agents are not

sufficiently posted up in bibliographical knowledge to convey your orders correctly. I have an order now on hand from an American agent here, which requires a series of explanations, I know the London agent does not want to be troubled with them, so my remarks will never reach the American gentleman who gave the order." And the next month Quaritch reiterated, saying: "I hope I shall continue to hear from you from time to time, I cannot help thinking you will find agents too dull of understanding and revert to direct communication." And in December he wrote: "I am sorry I am not to have the favour of again hearing from you direct, though I hope to do so indirectly and thanking you once more for your valuable patronage accorded me. Always at your service."

Mr. Lenox had closed the accounts with Quaritch on December 22, 1875, by a draft of £468, 3s., 8d., and had expressed a continuance of patronage, even though indirect. On January 7, 1876, Quaritch thanked him for this promise and wished him a happy New Year. In 1879 Quaritch still "had a small surplus remaining in hand" from Mr. Lenox's remittance of £200 in August, 1877.

No correspondence has been found between Lenox and Quaritch for the year 1878. In fact, there is no record of purchases made from Quaritch for 1876, 1877, and 1878. Mr. Lenox wrote on January 21, 1879 an order for some books, which Quaritch acknowledged on February 3, thus, about the Huth Catalogue: "Mr. Henry Huth was engaged upon making his Library Catalogue, and had printed it from A-M when he died, the result of an accident, falling backward down his staircase." In another letter of March 22 he elaborated on the accident and the catalogue, as follows: "When Mr. Huth's Catalogue is ready, a copy will be secured for you; if he had lived you would have had a copy gratis; the late Mr. Henry Huth was a man after your own heart,—he was a real bibliophile and a true nobleman. His death was the result of an accident, in walking up stairs, he felt giddy &

fell backwards, breaking his skull. Mr. Huth was only 63 years old, he visited my shop almost daily. The place seems deserted now; 'his' special chair other people now sit upon, makes me quite sad. Well,—we must now make all the more of the survivors!"

In the letter of January 21 Quaritch had told Mr. Lenox that the Huth Library was to be sold at auction in London, but not till next year (1880). Of course this would be too late for Mr. Lenox, who died in February of that year. But Mr. Lenox had ordered a copy of the privately-issued catalogue. He had also sent to Quaritch a copy of *Contributions to a Catalogue of the Lenox Library*, No. 1: Voyages of Hulsius (1877), which Quaritch praised.

On February 17, 1879, Quaritch offered some books, including several from the Didot sale, which were bought. Among them was the exceptionally fine Didot copy of the Aldine Virgil of 1501, the first book printed in italic type, at £60. Others were the Valencia, 1605 rare Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, bound in vellum at £30; Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of Louvain, printed by Johann of Padeborn (Westphalia), circa 1475, at £28; Cicero's *De Oratore* of Venice, 1470, at £36; the *Peregrinations* of Breydenbach, 1470, at £84; and the *Os Lusíadas* of Camões, 1597, at £30. In June Quaritch was back in London after having attended the second Didot sale in Paris. He reported to Mr. Lenox that it had "been a grand contest of the great amateurs;—the French carried everything before them, their enthusiasm is marvellous,—England is nowhere." He said his purchases had been "a few, but those choice lots." At the first Didot sale he had done better, having secured "many Romances of Chivalry."

A London incident that had upset Quaritch is referred to in his letter to Mr. Lenox of February 24, 1879. He wrote: "I just came from a meeting of creditors of Messrs. Sabin & Sons, their solicitor offers $\frac{3}{4}$ [i.e. 3s/ 4d] in the pound. It is a complete swindle. I shall never trust them again. The sooner dishonest traders disappear the better for bookbuyers."

Other purchases made from Quaritch during 1879 were these, as billed:

March 25. Item 8934 *Biblia Slavonica*. Editio Princeps. Ostroviae, 1581, for £125.

April 7. Among other items fifteen classics printed at Venice by the Alduses, toward building what became an extraordinary collection of Aldines in the Lenox Library.

May 10. St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, printed at the Monastery of Subiaco near Rome, 1467, blue morocco, with the arms of Earl Spencer on the sides, for £90.

September 27. Item 16641. Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, first and second parts, of Madrid, 1608 and 1615, in olive morocco, with the arms of DeThou on the sides, for £150.

December 13. From the David Laing sale thirty-eight lots at a total cost of £181, 11s., 6d.; and acquired in the same sale, but billed January 21, 1880 through Quaritch, seven more items of Robert Burns, including the Kilmarnock edition of his *Poems*, 1786, for £96, and the first Edinburgh edition of 1787, for £5, 10s.

Quaritch's reflections about the Laing sale were, that "old books are getting dearer each great sale they turn up." He had only recently sold to Mr. Lenox the Didot copy of *Don Quixote*, previously cited, at £150, and now, only a couple of months later, had to pay £192 for the Laing set. He said: "Everybody just wants the rare first editions, that is now [1879] the prevailing fashion amongst bibliophiles . . . You see bibliomania is not dead yet." When the first portion of the Laing sale, of eleven days, was over, he said it was "an obstinate struggle." Of 3,700 lots sold for £14,000, he had bought 756 lots for £5,500 Sterling.

The last letter from Mr. Lenox to Mr. Quaritch, of January 12, 1880, would not be known, if it had not been reproduced in facsimile in Quaritch's sketch of Mr. Lenox in his *Dictionary* of book collectors. It was written in the hand of his surviving sister

and later executrix, Miss Henrietta Lenox, and only signed by him. It reads: "I have received several letters from you and the purchases at D^r Laing's Sale have just arrived safely—but have not yet been fully examined—For nearly a month I have not left my bed & every exertion is extremely hurtful to me—I do not think I shall be able to make any further purchases of books; after the announcement in your letter received this morning of the purchase of the set of Burns' Works our correspondence I fear must cease I cannot undertake to write to you without injury to myself."

Mr. Lenox died the next month, February 17, and no doubt never saw Quaritch's last letter to him, written by a clerk, dated "London, 15 Piccadilly, W. 27 Jan. 1880," which said: "I have not had your further orders, so I now forward the vols. of 'Burns'"; and he surely never saw the January 21 acquisition of the Kilmarnock edition of the bard of Scotia, ancestral home of the Lenox family. It arrived in New York too late!

Notes on Standing Type in Elizabethan Printing

By FREDSON BOWERS

AS indicated by its title, this article does not pretend to be exhaustive; and indeed the subject is in such an early stage of recognition and investigation that no definitive statements are possible at the present time. In the past certain very interesting early books printed in part from standing type have been noted and the results published, but no attempt has been made to view these books in the round as illustrating any general principle of printing practice nor have the various categories of printing from standing type been segregated. In the following notes I shall attempt to point out three major classifications into which such books seem to fall, with the hope that the general question may be somewhat clarified and more data compiled.

It is commonly believed that under ordinary circumstances the Elizabethan printer distributed the type for one gathering almost immediately after it had been printed from and washed, in order that he might replenish his cases. It is very likely that the compositor who had set the type-pages himself distributed them into what may be regarded as his personal cases so that he should be responsible for foul case due to faulty distribution. Whether this distribution was ordinarily done with the forme as a unit or whether the type-pages were distributed in the order set is not clear. The evidence is frequently conflicting.

Two facts emerge, however. The title-page was very often kept standing even though the rest of its forme had been distributed. The second editions of *Eatsward Hoe* (London, William Aspley, 1605) and of Thomas Randolph's *Aristippus* (London,

Thomas Harper, 1630) both used type-pages from the final gathering of the first edition and in both the original setting of the title-page appears in the later edition. These are not cases, as with Gabriel Harvey's *Foure Letters* (London, J. Wolfe, 1592), of titles being printed as part of the final sheet. The title leaf of *Aristippus* is unquestionably an integral part of the complete first quarto gathering. In various books some part of the type-setting of the original title appears in the second edition although the remainder of its forme has been distributed. Tottel's second edition of Heywood's translation of *Troas* (London, 1559) may be mentioned as an example.

Secondly, type which was of a fount not in constant use might be considerably delayed in distribution even though common type of the rest of the forme, and indeed even of the page, in which it appeared had been distributed. This is illustrated by *Aristippus* where printing in the second edition from standing type of isolated pages, or parts of these pages, is probably to be explained by the fact that this type was italic whereas the major part of the book was set in roman.¹ That there is a connection between this delayed distribution of certain parts of the text printed from unneeded type and the preservation of the title-page I should hesitate to say positively, but I think it a point to be considered. If the compositor were at all rushed by the press, it would be a very natural thing for him to distribute only the type he would ordinarily need to keep his cases full and to delay complete distribution until he could take a breather at the end of the book. There is always the possibility, of course, that a title-page would be kept standing to print advertisements.

We may take it, therefore, that except with the very shortest of books or those requiring very little letterpress, type would normally be distributed very soon after it had been printed from,

¹ F. T. Bowers, *Marriot's Two Editions of Randolph's "Aristippus,"* in: *The Library, A Quarterly Review of Bibliography* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1940), 4th Series, XX: 165. Further details are given below.

except for some oddments, and that the complete set of type-pages, or staggered parts of the whole set from the earliest sheets on, would not be kept standing for any book except by a plan conceived before or very shortly after the printing of the first gathering. This is the obvious kernel of the whole problem, but its implications have not been completely recognized. Some writers, indeed, have seemed to imply that there was nothing very abnormal in this period for a whole book to be kept standing in type.

How soon the compositor distributed the type for a gathering after printing would be dictated by so many considerations that no general rule can be laid down. McKerrow believes that an Elizabethan case held only enough type to print four to five ordinary quarto pages and that a compositor had only two to three cases. This would mean that not much more than one complete quarto gathering, or one and one-half, could be divided between the press and the distribution bench without beginning to interfere with composition, provided only one compositor were concerned; and indeed most of the books which thriftily use standing type from the latter part of an earlier edition to print the next confine themselves to the type from the final two formes or only parts of the last two gatherings through the press, as in Robert Greene's *Spanish Masquerado* (London, Roger Ward, 1589) in which the type-setting for inner E and outer A is utilized to print the second edition. When more type-pages are held over, there is usually an obvious explanation involving two compositors, or type-pages which contained little letterpress.² It fol-

² About twelve type-pages were left standing from the octavo first edition in 1559 (London, Richard Tottel), of Seneca's *Troas* (W. W. Greg, *Notes on Early Plays*, in: *The Library* (London, 1931), 4th Series, XI:166) but the letterpress thus segregated was very small. Slightly more was preserved in *A Decree of Starre-Chamber concerning Printing* (London, R. Barker, 1637), a quarto, where six pages of F and all of G and H were used to print the second edition. Because of the typography, the actual amount of type left standing was not large. I have not seen this book and take my information from *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English Literature 1475-1700*, compiled by W. A. Jackson and Emma Va. Unger (New York, 1940) I:33, where it is specifically stated that inner G gave evidence of being taken from

lows that we should enquire carefully into the circumstances of printing of any edition which uses type-pages from much more than one full gathering of an earlier edition.

the chase and re-imposed, and where an alteration to the catchword on G₂^v suggests the same occurred with outer G. No comment is made about sheet H; if in the second edition it was printed not from standing type, however, but from impressing copies for the two editions simultaneously, it would be almost unique.

The printing of the two editions of Harvey's *Four Letters* (1592) has been analyzed by F. R. Johnson, *The First Edition of Gabriel Harvey's "FOVRE LETTERS,"* in: *The Library* (London, 1935), 4th Series, XV:212-223. The first edition collates 4^o, A⁴ (-A₁ +[A₁. 'A₂']) B-H⁴ I⁴ (-I₄) K⁴ L² and the second edition 4^o, A-I⁴ K². Fold A(A²) is a cancellans half-sheet containing the title and preface which Dr. Johnson has shown was printed with L². He also shows that the Fourth Letter occupying K₁^r-L₂^r was an afterthought and that sheets K and L, including A(A²), were set simultaneously with sheets H and I. In the second edition we find that standing type of A(A²), H(i,o), I(i,o), and L₂^r (L₂^v is blank) from the first edition was used. The circumstances of simultaneous setting alter the conditions somewhat, but by the time it was decided to print another edition we see that all of sheet K, and two pages from L had been distributed but that sheets H and I were still in type. This is not a pure case and we cannot take it as typical since sheets H and I were in verse while K was in prose. It does indicate, however, that in this instance (perhaps because of the verse) the single compositor was able to set fourteen type-pages from his cases without the necessity for distribution. Of course, he was approaching what he thought was the end of the book and did not require the type for new setting after sheet I, and this was perhaps the main reason for the large amount of undistributed type.

From Moxon's account of the compositor's duties it would seem that he normally distributed the forme just off the press very soon after delivering the new forme to be printed and before beginning the setting of the next gathering to be printed.

The bibliographical shorthand, valuable for its brevity and accuracy, used in the above note and throughout this paper, will be described in a book by Dr. Bowers on bibliographical description now in process, following in the main the bibliographical notation advocated by Dr. W. W. Greg in various articles and exemplified in his *Bibliography of English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1939). Parts of the system have been explained in J. D. Cowley, *Bibliographical Description and Cataloguing* (London, Grafton, 1939). For the benefit of those who do not have access to Greg or Cowley the following explanation is given:

K₁^r means the recto of the first leaf of Signature K. K₁^v would be the verso.

I⁴ (-I₄) means that in signature I, which should have four leaves, the fourth leaf is missing.

H (i,o) means the inner and outer formes of signature (or gathering) H. H(o) would of course mean the outer forme only.

The notation as to signature A in the note above denotes:

Leaf A₁ has been cancelled (-A₁);

This has been replaced by an insert (the + sign), which consists of a 2-leaf fold, the first leaf, which would have been A₁, unsigned (indicated by brackets), the second and conjugate leaf (the .) actually signed A₂ (indicated by quotes). Later referred to as A(A²), i.e., the insert of 2 conjugate leaves in gathering A.

C. A. W.

Other details which may contain evidence of the circumstances of printing should not be neglected. No one these days would be misled into arguing whether a forme of standing type was used again without being unlocked (as has been done in the past) when a glance at the running-titles will tell the story. Evidence bearing on the question of whether the type-pages were laid aside on the bench for normal distribution or whether they were tied up and designedly stored for another edition may sometimes be garnered. Running-titles, as we now know fully, were transferred from forme to forme essentially as a part of the furniture. Thus when the pagination is in the same line as the running-title, we should expect reset page numbers in a second edition printed from standing type-pages and, of course, different running-titles. However, it seems to have been the practise when storing standing type to strip a page of its quads or furniture when these were used to form a large amount of white space, and thus type like a catchword, leaf signature, or author's signature coming below or surrounded by solid quads or quads combined with furniture would be taken away at the same time and only the essential letterpress of the type-page tied up. When there is evidence of re-setting of this sort we have the strongest evidence that type was stored by design.³

³ This happens very clearly in the second issue of Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (London, Richard Tonson, 1678) as represented by two copies in the Folger Shakespeare Library. In the first issue Otway's full name as signature at the end of the dedication on A₂^v occurs 15 mm. below the line containing his subscription but in the second issue it is reset as simple initials owing to the quads forming the white space having been removed before the page was tied up.

The storage I speak of could be of short duration or of long. I am interested here in distinguishing the treatment that would be given type-pages set on the bench for distribution and pages tied up for use after some delay. The point is by no means academic, and indeed the evidence of tied type would in some books help to distinguish simple press alteration from re-printing. Moreover, storage shows that the pages in question were not immediately re-imposed and printed from. In the following book, for example, it is probable on the evidence that when a second edition was decided upon and distribution was beginning on the final gathering, the necessary pages were not immediately reset and the gathering printed but instead the pages were wrapped and stored until the final gathering of the second edition was to be printed even though the book was reprinted page for page and line for line.

The Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland . . .

Substitution of ornaments or of initials not used again in the book may be taken as slightly less certain evidence since in some circumstances they might be removed immediately. Quads were in constant demand and the printer would not wish to deplete his cases any more than necessary; ornaments and initials might be needed before the pages were removed from storage. These are all things the printer would not wish to immobilize.

In some of the books I have examined where there was no running-title but the pagination alone appeared in the headline, this headline had been kept standing; but there was little consistency of practice in this matter, and many had been removed. So with catchwords and signatures. Sometimes only the letter-press of the type-page had been tied up, but a greater proportion of times the direction-line had been tied also. Both circumstances could appear in one book. It seems safe to point out, however, that where an appreciable number of direction-lines or of those headlines which would not be transferred from forme to forme have been removed before the type-page was stored, we may normally infer that the type-pages were actually left standing by design. Evidence of only a few such lines would be insufficient

1475-1640, compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1926) (cited hereafter as STC) lists only one edition for Nowell and Day, *A True Repart of the Disputation with Ed. Campion* (London, C. Barker, 1583) although the British Museum catalogues two and places them doubtfully in the order (a) 225.a.26 and (b) 860.k.12. They may be distinguished most readily as follows: (a) has A_1^v blank while errata are present in (b); the prayer concludes on $2G_1^v$ of (a) but is contained complete on $2G_1^v$ of (b). A_2 and $2G_2$ seem to have been printed together, and in (b) standing type from (a) is used for A_2 although the head-ornament, head-title, and the first eight lines of text which had surrounded an ornamental initial are reset. This resetting points clearly to removal of the initial, necessitating distribution of all type above and surrounding it, before the page was wrapped up, and would never have been done if the type had been left standing for distribution, or for immediate re-imposition. Other details of standing type are as follows: On A_2^v the signatures of the authors and an ornament set below a white space have been reset but otherwise the type is identical; although the type of $2G_1$ has been distributed, the final 22 lines of the prayer beginning $2G_1^v$ were left standing so that only the early lines are reset on $2G_1^v$ of (b). It was probably this evidence which led to the cataloguing of (b) as the second edition in spite of the fact that it has more side-notes and an errata list. Curiously, the title is reset in (b) although without textual difference.

since the top and bottom lines of a type-page are the readiest victims of pieing when the forme is unlocked. It is observed in Tottel's *Troas* that the lower parts of some standing type-pages had to be reset, undoubtedly owing to accidents in handling them.

With these general principles for investigation behind us, we may proceed to a most crucial point. Except for very special classes of official books where permission was granted to exceed the limit, the laws of the Stationers' Company restricted editions of books from any one setting of type to 1250-1500 copies. The purpose would seem to have been to protect the full employment of the compositor, and when printers were discovered violating this rule the Company levied substantial fines. We should, therefore, expect workmen in a printing house to be alert to protect their rights; and unless they were paid by private agreement it is difficult to believe that they would have permitted the printer to print any more than a relatively few pages from standing type. This has only an incidental interest for most books, where the use of standing type was certainly fortuitous and, being confined largely to one gathering, was seemingly not planned from the start. Moreover, the considerable number of books which utilized standing type from the final gathering attests that there was nothing irregular in such a proceeding. Tottel was a reputable printer, and his *Troas* mentioned above would probably come close to the limit of permissible printing.⁴ This might be set roughly at about two gatherings or a little over.

If, however, such a substantial portion of an ordinary commercial book remains standing that under no circumstances can it

⁴ Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (1678) is a special case. Here the title-page and dedication were printed on the half-sheet A, but apparently by design the full number of copies were not printed and the type was wrapped and stored. Whatever changes Tonson thought might be on the way did not materialize and at a later time the pages were re-imposed and printed for binding with the original sheets. The only textual change is the omission of the date of licensing from the title and of Otway's initials for his name. To take the place of a spaced double rule which had headed the dedication, two lines of text were moved from A₂^v to A₂^r in the second printing of the half-sheets. The first issue is represented by Folger (no identification number) and the second by Folger (ac.10.21.43).

be deemed accidental lack of distribution, the natural inference is that the printer was printing extra-legally a whole second edition and that he could not do this without the connivance of his workmen.

The point must be stressed because it has been generally overlooked in connection with some of these books. When there is no question of a printer making up an edition where certain gatherings had been under-printed, and when the book is not of the class where special permission could be secured for another printing from standing type, we must believe that abnormal lack of distribution attests to extra-legal printing in controversion of the regulations, and that this second edition was planned from the start or from a very early period in the book to evade the regulations. The exception would be a book where it could be shown that the first printing from the type-pages was below the limit and that, as a consequence, the re-printing from standing type was for the purpose of filling up the maximum figure.

From this point we have only speculation to guide us since I am not aware of any records of printers getting into difficulty through the use of standing type. But it seems clear that, viewed as a whole, certain classes of books use a majority of standing type-pages to print a second, and even a third edition, with little or no attempt at concealment; other books printed during certain years seem to exhibit a desire to conceal their use of standing type.

Books therefore may be divided into three broad classes: (1) where the use of standing type is fortuitous; (2) where type which would normally have been distributed is tied up and designedly held to print another complete edition but where special permission seems to have been secured to print more copies at a later time; (3) where type which would normally be distributed is tied up and designedly held to print another edition with such intermixture of reset formes as would placate the workmen in the shop and not arouse the interest of the Stationers' Company.

Of the first class Harvey's *Four Letters*, considered in detail

above, is an excellent example; *A Decree of Starre Chamber* and Nowell and Day's *Account of the Disputation* are others, as is Heywood's translation of *Troas*. This latter collates 8°, A-E⁸, F⁴, and in its second edition type left standing is substantially used for inner D (except D₁^v); E(1,0) except for E₄ and E₈^v, the lower half of E₃, the last four lines of E₇ and the last seven lines of E₂^v; F(1,0) except for F₂^v. On the evidence of gathering E, which was manifestly disturbed, the resettings seem to have been occasioned only by accidents to the type in E and F, and possibly with D₁^v. Randolph's *Aristippus* has the interesting point of the undistributed italic type. The collation is 4°, A-F⁴ (F₄ blank). Only the title-page has been held over from the A gathering, as well as F₁, F₁^v, F₂, and the italic portion in the middle of F₂^v. Sig. D₄ (largely italic) was undistributed, and the lower portion (also largely italic) of C₄. *Eastward Hoe* in its second edition uses only the standing type of the title and portions of both formes of its final gathering I.

An interesting book recorded in only one edition (STC 5864) actually went through two in the year 1627. This is by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton and has the title-page in both: A SHORT | VIEVV OF THE | Long Life and Raigne of | HENRY the Third, King | of ENGLAND. | Presented to King IAMES. | Printed. c10 10 cxxvII. The editions are represented in the Folger Shakespeare Library by two copies, the Folger and Harmsworth, each having the collation 4°, a-f⁴. They may be recognized by the following: (1) in the title of the Folger copy there is only a thin space between each element of the date but in the Harmsworth copy there is a rather wide spacing; (2) sigs. b₃ and c₃ in the Folger are printed 'b *ij*' and 'c *ij*' but in the Harmsworth as 'b *ij*' and 'c *ij*'.

The Harmsworth copy is a page-for-page and line-for-line reprint of the Folger except that all of gathering e except e₃^v was printed from standing type of the Folger including the pagination error of 33 for 34 on e₁^v. The top line of the first side-note on

e₁ has dropped out in the Harmsworth copy. The title-page is also of the identical setting down through and including the fifth line; the rest has been reset without substantive change.

The fact that gathering f was apparently distributed before gathering e makes one wonder at first whether this use of standing type was entirely fortuitous, but the odds are that it was and that we have a case similar to Harvey's *Four Letters* where the compositor approaching the end of the book left undistributed the first forme of the next to last gathering to be printed, and went ahead to set the final gathering. Here we may believe that on conclusion of printing he distributed f before tackling e and was stopped in time. The reset page in e may have been distributed (the inner forme was normally first through the press) but may have pined in handling. It is worthy of note that headlines and direction-lines in e seem to be identical in both editions.⁵

For the second category into which these books fall, I choose the singularly clear case of two unrecorded issues of STC 9257: Charles I, *The Kings Declaration to His Subjects Concerning lawfull Sports to be vsed*, printed by Robert Barker in 1633 with the collation 4^o, A-B⁴ C⁴ (-C₄) as represented again by Folger (ac.10.25.45) and Harmsworth copies. The Folger copy may be recognized by the ornament on A₄ representing a kneeling king with a harp, whereas in Harmsworth the ornament is a conventional design with the figure of a woman in the center. Leaf C₁ is signed in Folger with an italic 'C' whereas Harmsworth has a swash italic 'C'.

Both copies are printed from the identical type-pages throughout, including the title-page. There are evidences, however, that the type-pages had been tied up and put aside between printings. On A₃ the initial has been moved and replaced by a different

⁵ I wish to express my debt to Dr. J. G. McManaway of the Folger Shakespeare Library, who, being aware of my struggles to define "edition," "issue," and "state" for a book on bibliographical description I am engaged with, suggested the Folger books mentioned in this article as presenting various problems for me to solve and describe.

block though identical in design. The top ornament and the line '¶By the King' have been removed and probably reset somewhat more to the left of the page in (F) than in (H). The signature and the page number are reset, as is the catchword. The page number on A₃^v has definitely been reset since (F) has a period after the number '2' and (H) does not. On A₄, as already stated, the top ornament has been replaced by another. Evidence of page number resetting, of signatures, and catchwords in the rest of gathering A and in gathering B is inconclusive, although it seems likely that the page numbers (the only type in the headline) are reset. C₁ has a reset signature, and C₁^v probably a reset bottom rule. The page numbering on C₂ is probably the same type, and is positively so on C₃.

There is little available evidence for deciding the order of issue of this slim book but what there is points to (F) being the first and (H) the second. In (H) the rules are considerably more bent. On A₃^v the page number '2' is normalized by removing the period present in (F). On C₂^v, line 6, an advisable but not necessary comma is inserted after the word 'there'; otherwise collation discloses no textual alterations. STC 9258 is from a completely different type-setting which seems to be later than STC 9257. Its use of tailed letters, casual in (F) and (H), is more consistent and they seem on occasion to be used to fill out a line where a smaller initial is present than in 9257. STC 9258 on A₄ has the same head-ornament as (H) which differs from (F). STC 9258 can be distinguished most readily from 9257 by its mark ¶ on the title before 'Imprinted', not present in 9257.

What is important with the two issues of STC 9257 is that they represent an official publication by the King's Printer, with the fact that every page was left standing (not a difficult undertaking with such a small book) without the necessity for concealment. Moreover, the removal of an ornament, an initial, and the rather consistent removal of headline and occasionally the direction-line

point to a plan to keep the type standing made at the very start of printing the first issue.

From this book it seems apparent that various official publications which had been presumed over-printed by permission might well be re-examined to see whether the over-printing was accomplished with only one impression or whether there were two or more, forming a special class of issues of the book.

Almost as clear are the three hitherto unrecorded issues of STC 25248 (itself a version of three printings of STC 25247), Thomas Wentworth's *Depositions and Articles against Thomas Earle of Strafford* printed anonymously in 1640, and represented in the Folger Library by Harmsworth, Thompson, and Buckingham copies. (H) and (T) can be distinguished as follows: on A₄^r (H) has two rules below the letterpress and (T) one rule; on B₂ (H) misnumbers page 9 as 14 but (T) is correct; on E₂ (H) correctly pages 33 but (T) misnumbers 36. (B) has a partially reset title-page, the resetting beginning after or including the first rule of the title. 'Printed in the yeare, 1640.' in (B) is in larger type than in (T) or (H) and there is no comma after 'yeare' or period after '1640'. On typographical and textual evidence the order of printing is (H), (T), and (B). The collation for all three is 4°, A-F⁴.

There is no necessity to go into minute detail about the differences of these three issues. In general they exhibit the familiar characteristics of tied-up type-pages put aside for future use in another printing. On A₄ a large white space beneath the text containing only two rules and a catchword was not tied up and so was reset in (T) from (H). On B₁^r the head ornament has been removed and replaced, being re-positioned in (T) about three millimeters to the left of (H). Between (H) and (T) all page numbers (no running-titles present) seem to have been reset but probably only a few direction-lines. (B) seems to reset fewer page numbers from (T) than (T) from (H).

(T) takes over all the type-pages (including the title) of (H) except for the outer forme of D and sig. D₁^v of the inner forme,

which are reset. In (B) the following are reset from (T): A1^r partial resetting of title; B(i); C(i,o); and D(o).

Probably because this pamphlet was inspired by powerful political interests or perhaps because the printer felt safe behind his anonymity, the few resettings cannot be laid to any desire for concealment of standing type. Nor do they seem enough to have been caused by the demands of the workmen and, as perhaps evidenced by the partial resetting of the title-page but without more than accidental change in text in (B) and the resetting only of D1^r of D(i) in (T), they may most probably be laid to accidents happening to the type-pages.

Another short book where type-pages were almost wholly preserved for a reprinting is Dionyse Settle, *A True Reporte of the Last Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions* (1577),⁶ with the collation of the first edition 8°, A⁴ B-C⁸ D⁴ and the second edition 8°, A-C⁸. All the type-pages except for the outer forme of sheet B are preserved and used again in the second edition although there are a number of minor corrections and several large additions totalling about three pages. To take care of the extra text, each type-page of the second edition contained one more line of type than the first, and the final blank leaf of the first was filled. Thus there was a complete re-arrangement and re-imposition of the type-pages.

Dr. Baughmann seems to regard the standing type as fortuitous (p. 68) and, on the analogy of the 1559 *Troas* which kept about the same amount of type-pages standing, it may well have been. Against the fact that outer B in Settle was distributed, perhaps indicating the start of general distribution, should be laid the fact that Settle is in prose and Heywood in short lines of verse. We have seen from Wentworth described above that an accident could very well pie a whole forme. I do not think that a

⁶ I take my information about this book from G. B. Parks, *The Two Versions of Settle's Frobisher Narrative*, and R. Baughman, *Variant Editions of Settle's Account of Frobisher*, in: *The Huntington Library Quarterly* (San Marino, California, 1938-1939), II: 59-65; 67-68.

definite decision can be made about this book. Although dealing with a semi-official subject, the original edition does not seem to have been officially inspired since the corrections in the second edition are obviously made by an official hand and the first version therefore might not have been passed upon; however, they may have been occasioned by criticisms. It is possible that the printer worked off a short edition and kept the pages standing to await its reception, but the subject would seem to militate against this theory. Public interest in Frobisher was undoubtedly great, and "Settle's was the first report printed in England of an English voyage of discovery" (p. 64).⁷ It is just as easy to conceive that he deliberately kept type standing for a second edition.

At any rate, this doubtful work serves as a useful bridge to the third class of books, which I think of as dubiously lawful second editions partly from standing type. They comprise, so far as I know, only three plays and a description of a pageant. Three were printed in 1604 and in these either Valentine Simmes figures as printer or Thomas Man the younger as publisher; the fourth appeared in 1606 under other auspices. The books all exhibit the same characteristics and were surely reprinted in the same manner. They comprise Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* and *Whole Magnificent Entertainment* (1604),⁸ and *The Honest Whore* of 1604, 1604-5, and 1605;⁹ and Marston's *Malcontent* (1604) and *Parasitaster* (1606).¹⁰

⁷ When only a few copies of a book are preserved, I do not think we can argue a theory based on their relative number at the present. Of the five recorded copies mentioned in the Huntington articles, four are of the first edition. Yet the second was used by Hakluyt and by foreign translators, indicating distribution in some quantity.

⁸ Described by F. T. Bowers, *Bibliographical Problems in Dekker's "Magnificent Entertainment,"* in: *The Library* (London, 1936), 4th Series, XVII:333-9. There was some bad bibliography in my explanation of the method of printing, which was properly corrected by W. W. Greg in pp. 476-8 of the same volume.

⁹ Described by W. W. Greg, "*The Honest Whore*" or "*The Converted Courtesan*," in: *The Library* (London, 1935), 4th Series, XV:54-60. Certain clarification and correction was made in the same writer's *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama*, vol. I.

¹⁰ *Parasitaster* has been described by R. E. Brettell, in: *The Library* (London, 1927), 4th Series, VIII:338, and again in *Marston Bibliography: A Correction*, in:

Since detailed information about these curious second editions is readily available in print, I do not propose to treat them minutely except for Dekker's two *Entertainments* where I have some new material to add to that already published. The first edition, *The Magnificent Entertainment*, was published in 1604 by Man the younger with the printing accredited on the title to Thomas Creede. The collation is 4°, A-I⁴. The second, *The Whole Magnificent Entertainment*, with the collation 4°, A² B-I⁴, was published by Man with Edward Allde listed as the printer on the title. Dr. Greg has shown that the first edition (Q1) was divided among five printers in sections A-B, C-D, E, F-H, and I, with Humphrey Lownes printing F-H and Creede A-B. Since the same watermark is found in all sheets, Man probably distributed the paper. The second (Q2), *The Whole Magnificent Entertainment*, on the other hand, was divided among four according to the sections A-B, C-D, E-F, G-H, and I. Sheet I here came from the same press as A-B, however, and (because of the resetting of A-B) probably establishes Allde as the printer of I in Q1. The allocation to four printers is confirmed by the fact that the portion of the text of E of Q1 brought back into sheet D of Q2 was reset, as was the entire sheet F which was transferred from one section to another. Thus Allde reset A-B and printed it with I, the type of which was still standing in his house. C-D was printed by the same printer as in Q1. F, however, was transferred from Lownes to the printer of E and reset, and Lownes printed only G-H from standing type.

The details of the standing type and resetting are as follows:

Sheets A-B. Entirely reset in Q2 by a different printer, Allde, with a saving of two pages. Q2, therefore, prints A as a half-sheet.

Sheet C. The inner forme of Q1 was preserved and used again page for page in Q2. The outer forme was reset except for

The Library (1935), 4th Series, XV:241-2. *The Malcontent* has never been completely described; the fullest account is found in W. W. Greg, *Notes on Old Books*, in: *The Library* (1922), 4th Series, II:49-57; R. E. Brettell, in: *The Library* (1928), 4th Series, VIII:336-7; (1931), 4th Series, XII:240-1.

the beginning of the Latin speech on the lower part of C₂^v which utilizes the type standing from outer D of Q₁.

Sheet D. Inner forme standing and used as follows: from the start of the Dutch Pageant on D₁^v of Q₂ to the end of line 6 of D₂^v which marked the end of D₂^r of Q₁; D₃^v and D₄ of Q₂ up to the line before the inscription beginning *PIO INVICTO*, but not page for page. Only the type of the Latin speech in the Italian Pageant in outer D of Q₁ was preserved and used to conclude C₄^v and begin D₁ of Q₂. All the rest was reset.

Sheet E. Both the inner and outer formes of Q₁ were left standing and used again in Q₂ except that E₁^r and the first six lines of E₁^v of Q₂ were reset. Line 7 of E₁^v begins with the type of line 1 of E₁^v of Q₁. (The material of E₁^r in Q₁ had been used in reset type for D₄^v of Q₂.)

Sheet F. Both formes entirely reset by a different printer.

Sheet G. The inner forme standing and used again. Outer forme reset except for Latin verses and heading on G₃.

Sheet H. Inner and outer formes standing and no resetting except of English for a long Latin speech on three pages.

Sheet I. Inner and outer standing except for top six lines on I₃ which may possibly have been reset.

In my original article on this play I suggested as one of two alternatives the circumvention of the rule limiting the number of copies of an edition which could be printed from one type-setting. This is no longer an alternative but the only possible explanation. Three pieces of evidence can be advanced. Sheets C and D were printed by the same printer for Q₁ and Q₂. In Q₂ only standing type from the inner forme of each sheet is used again with the exception of the Latin passage from D₁ of the outer forme. If the printer did not at the time of printing expect to use the type again, it is curious that the outer forme of D should be distributed before inner C, especially when the running-titles prove that only one press was used. Moreover, there seems to have been some significance in leaving the inner forme of a sheet standing in all these

plays. In not one of the four when only one forme is preserved is that forme the outer.

An equally interesting matter is the preservation of the type of the Latin passage from D₁ of Q₁ although the rest of the forme has been distributed, particularly when a parallel is found with another printer on G₃ where type set in Latin in Q₁ is the only part of the forme preserved in type. Indeed, the only Latin reset in Q₂ consists of a few separated tags. The conclusion is inescapable that Man had planned on the start for two editions of a coronation souvenir. The printers of Q₁ were ordered to leave their type standing and on instructions from Man they voluntarily distributed only as much as would (a) keep them within the law, or (b) give the appearance of a completely new edition. Those retaining their original allotment of sheets distributed an average of one forme per gathering, but cannily retrieved any hard-to-set Latin from outer formes, which were always chosen for distribution. A certain re-arrangement was made about printing the different sections, which resulted in the newly assigned printers keeping both formes of their old section since they had new material to reset.

This introduces the third piece of evidence. It seems certainly due to a more imperative reason than the desire to even the assignments that the two printers who had been given only one sheet in Q₁ were allotted two in Q₂. If one may believe that Allde and the printer of E would balk at printing one single sheet without resetting, or that the law might be satisfied if a sufficient portion of each printer's work was reset, the distribution becomes clear. The printer of E was given F to reset (F was taken away from Lownes, who retained G-H and reset approximately half of these two sheets), and Allde was presented with A-B. For the other printers either the additional English translations added to Q₂ and requiring new composition satisfied the requirements or else they reset the outer forme in each sheet. No section in Q₂ was printed entire from standing type taken over from Q₁, but

the whole book averages close to one-half intermixed standing type. Such a work, as I have described it, cannot have been done fortuitously. It was planned from the start of the setting of Q1, and was carried through with considerable success.

The pattern established by this play was also used successfully with the second edition of *The Honest Whore* in 1604-1605, again a play printed in sections and with the second edition very considerably revised. Here the type of A(i,o), C(i), D(i,o), E(i), F(i,o), H(i), I(i) and K(i,o) with some few variations was used in the second edition. When one notes the almost regular alternation of standing inner formes with gatherings, the possibility that the second edition was decided on only after a heavy sale for the first had been encountered is quite absurd.

The third edition in 1605, made up from standing type of gatherings A, B, and H combined with the original sheets of the first edition and one sheet (E) of the second edition is probably, as Greg suggests, a printing to equalize the number of copies of complete sets of sheets.

The standing type of *The Malcontent*, another heavily revised play in the second edition, seems mostly confined to sheets A, D(i) and E(i,o) but apparently parts of pages throughout the play are also involved; the problem has never been minutely examined. *Parasitaster*, the final play, was also revised in its second edition. Here a small part of A has been left standing, as well as C₁ of outer C, D(i,o), G₁ of outer G, all of inner G, H(i) and I(i,o). We note again that when only one forme has been left standing, it is the inner forme.

I suggest that these four plays were planned from the start in two editions and that either the printers circumvented the law by disguising their second editions or else the law could be satisfied by resetting approximately one-half of the book. I incline more to the first theory, however, since these four plays are unique and all occur within the space of a few years, suggesting that the law was tightened (of which we have no record) or else that the de-

vice did not deceive the authorities indefinitely. If the method had been strictly legal, we should certainly have seen more of it.

I am not satisfied, however, that this is the complete explanation. It cannot be coincidence that in every case the second edition was enlarged and contained corrections which bear every evidence of having come from the author's hand. Moreover, the fact that only two authors were concerned may be significant. Finally, either Man or Simmes was concerned with the three plays in 1604-1605; and the independent printer (or Marston himself) may have been taking a leaf from their book in 1606. The revision is really the key to the answer, combined with the fact that there was a definite plan from the start to keep approximately one-half of the play standing in scattered sections.

The possibility of a short edition at the start to take care of immediate demand while a revision was worked at with greater leisure has some plausibility, but I do not believe that this happened four times or that it was true of the *Entertainment*. Moreover, *The Malcontent* and *Parasitaster* were published each time with a dedication by Marston, and the statement in the second edition of *Parasitaster* that it corrected faults made in the absence of the author is probably no more true than other Elizabethan excuses for a bad printing,¹¹ and again could not happen four times.

No really satisfactory explanation occurs to me which will cover the pattern of the distribution according to a set plan and the revision of the author, except a rather unsavory one that we may just possibly be dealing with a deliberate attempt to rush an edition into print knowing that it was unsatisfactory and that corrections would be made, but thus being assured of the sale of two

¹¹ W. L. Halstead. *An Explanation for the Two Editions of Marston's 'Fawne'*, in: *Studies in Philology* (Chapel Hill, 1943), XL: 25-32 shows that Marston's objections to the text of the first edition of *Parasitaster* can not have been severe since there are only twenty-one actual revisions. However, the explanation that the second edition was produced in order to advertise Marston's forthcoming *Sophonisba* in a side-note is quite untenable. It ignores the bibliographical fact that the amount of type left standing was abnormal and hence was planned as standing type from the start of printing the first edition.

editions in a short time, the second of which would have to be bought by numbers who had purchased the first. I do not stake very much on this explanation, and would certainly not believe that the first edition was deliberately made faulty, but the suggestion seems to fit all the facts. Whatever decision is finally accepted, however, must be as true for one book as for the others. They are clearly a unit and a very interesting Elizabethan publishing venture.

THE AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE

DR. VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS is so well known as the Chief-Emeritus of the American History Division and as the Curator-Emeritus of Manuscripts of The New York Public Library; as a historian and author; and as a past-president and present member of our Council, that I only need to remind our readers that before his connection with The New York Public Library he served for nearly twenty years in the former Lenox Library: as an assistant, as sub-librarian and as assistant-librarian, successively.

DR. FREDSON BOWERS is associate professor of English at the University of Virginia where, in addition to some courses in literature, he gives seminars in enumerative, descriptive and analytical bibliography.

JOHN PINCKNEY HOLBROOK, recently elected to membership, lives in Greenwich Village, Manhattan. He has for some years been an ardent collector of Cruikshankiana. He hopes to hear from other collectors in this field.

Cruikshank's Sketch Book: The "Gold" Question

By JOHN PINCKNEY HOLBROOK

I

OVER a century ago an essay¹ was written on the subject of George Cruikshank which is still unsurpassed as a critique of his work. That he was one of the greatest masters of pictorial satire England has ever produced is well known. His illustrations of the novels of Dickens, Scott, and others have alone ensured his lasting fame in the realm of literature and illustration. Therefore it is not my purpose here to reiterate in terms eulogistic what others have said so well in times gone by.

Instead, this paper confines itself to a discussion, from an essentially bibliographical point of view, of one of Cruikshank's pictorial commentaries on the social life and manners of his time.

II

Because it is such an excellent compendium, one of the essential pivots of any collection of George Cruikshank must necessarily be *My Sketch Book*, published "for the Artist," by Charles Tilt of London.

This book was published in nine Numbers, or Parts, which appeared "occasionally" between the years 1833 and 1836; each number containing four plates, a total of thirty-six plates in all.

Although the first six numbers were published later in a single volume in December, 1834, nevertheless the most desirable state

¹ W. M. Thackeray, *An Essay on the Genius of George Cruikshank*, in: *The Westminster Review* (London, June 1840), No. LXVI, pp. 1-60.

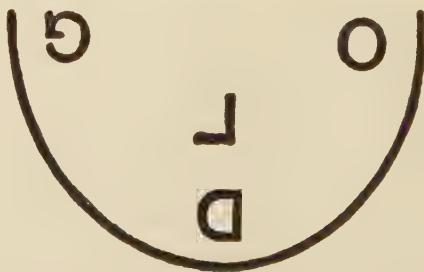
from a collector's standpoint is in parts, coloured, as originally issued.

There are numerous "points" by means of which the first issue of the book as a whole may be identified; and sooner or later, whether the book has been acquired as a component of a colour-plate collection, or specifically as a Cruikshank item, the new owner will consult the bibliographical catalogues. This is where the trouble begins: because the normal sources of information are all found to differ with each other in their descriptions of Plate 2 of Part 5.

This plate is entitled "The Worship of Wealth." The principal figure is that of Mammon, the personification of wealth, being drawn in a coach by two spirited horses. The body of Mammon is depicted by a large money-bag which quite fills up the carriage. A smaller money-bag is used to depict the head of Mammon, and the letters G O L and D are so tactically placed as to depict the facial features of the figure.

The main point on which the various authorities differ lies in their descriptions of the placing of these four letters. Inasmuch as this detail in the plate constitutes one of the salient points of issue, such disparity is, quite naturally, cause for confusion.

G. S. Layard² describes the head of Mammon: "as represented by a small money-bag, and the features of the face by the letters G O L D. Of this plate only one state was known until in a happy moment one of our best known collectors discovered and secured a unique proof with all the letters in reverse, thus:—



² G. S. Layard, *Suppressed Plates*, 1st. edition (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1907), pp. 53-54.

... a triumph which only the true *dilettante* will appreciate at its proper value."

Douglas³ has this to say on the subject: "In the first state of the 2nd plate the design 'The Worship of Wealth' has the letters on the bag, OGDJ instead of GOLD, to which it was altered in later issues."

In his *Catalogue Raisonné*⁴ Cohn maintains that: "The second plate in its first state should have the letters on the bag forming the Coachman's face, OGDJ; this in later issues was rectified to GOLD."

III

Thus a student, in tracking down this point of issue, becomes completely frustrated by three different descriptions of how the letters are placed.

Layard's facsimile is deceptive, for the reason that it shows the G not reversed as he describes it in the text, but transposed upside down! In support of this, one has but to hold the facsimile up to a mirror to see that the upside-down G has no rhyme or reason. Whereas reversed horizontally, as found in the first state, it does fit in with the other letters; and is immediately seen to be part of the etcher's oversight which came to light when the first proofs were pulled. Such an error is very easy to make in the course of etching, as any artist using this medium will readily testify.

I have never seen such an impression or state of this plate, and since only a facsimile is offered as an illustration, it can only be held highly debatable that such a state exists in fact. Rather do I incline to the probability that the G got upset as a typographical expedient in the course of latter-day printing.

The Douglas version also makes the mistake of transposing the G upside down, rather than showing it reversed as it is actually

³ Capt. R. J. H. Douglas, *The Works of George Cruikshank* (London, The Dryden Press, 1903), p. 29.

⁴ Albert M. Cohn, *George Cruikshank, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Work Executed during the Years 1806-1877* (London, Office of The Bookman's Journal, 1924), p. 58, No. 181.

found upon inspection of a copy of a genuine first issue. Such a mistake is the more remarkable when it is remembered that Capt. Douglas was extremely precise and paid the greatest attention to minute detail.

Neither is Cohn without reproach, speaking, as he does, of the letters "forming the *Coachman's* face." This is of course an inaccuracy, since Mammon is the *Passenger*. The Coachman and Footman are merely in the position of supporters to the central figure.

IV

In the interests, therefore, of resolving the confusion which has heretofore attended any reference to the authorities listed above, an exact reproduction of the central part of the plate under discussion is shown herewith, together with reproductions of the money-bag in the first state and as it is found in later states.

In the further interests of a precise and complete description, I should add that a genuine first issue of the book in the original parts will be found to be on Whatman paper, and so watermarked. This is a point, to the best of my knowledge, never before mentioned in print.



THE WORSHIP OF WEALTH



FIRST STATE



LATER STATE

(twice actual size)

Bibliographical Notes

An Undescribed Indulgence

INNOCENTIUS VIII. INDULGENCE. [Antwerp: Thierry Martens, 1497.] Broadside. 29 lines. Types: 2:72G and 3:145G; init. b. Woodcut: seal. (I⁶) N dei nomine Amen [large type, occupying two lines] | Nouerint vniuerſi xpriftifideles qualiter ad perpetuā rei memoriā Sanctiffimus dominus noſter fe | licis recordatiōis Innocētius Papa octauus erexit & inſtituit quāda3 vtriufq3 ſex' cōfraternitatē p'n | cipaliter . . . line 20: . . . Et ſignate ab alfonſo de loſa. Notario apoſtolico deputato. Anno domini. M.CCCC.XCVII | . . . line 28: . . . In | nomine patris & filij & ſpiritus ſancti Amen. |

Oblong single folio printed on one side only. The woodcut is in the circular form of a seal; it contains the figure of a pilgrim (probably that of St. James) surrounded by a verse from the 22nd Psalm: "Virga et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt."

This document is a form of admittance to the confraternity of St. James of Compostella, which was founded by Pope Innocent VIII. It enumerates the privileges of the confraternity (confirmed by Pope Alexander VI) and contains two indulgences, one for yearly absolution and the other "In mortis articulo." The confraternity was open to members of both sexes upon the donation of 1/6 of a ducat. It is signed by Alphonsus de Losa, an apostolic notary, and countersigned by "Johannes in Collectario."

As the line-endings, contractions and use of capitals indicate, the present Indulgence belongs to a different edition than those described by Copinger 1726^{a-b} (*Einblattdrucke des XV Jahrhunderts*, nos. 868 and 866). No other copy is known to the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.

Second Census I 108; *Morgan Check List* 1708.

CURT F. BÜHLER

A Lyonese Book, 1506

ANTONINUS. Summa theologica. Pars III. [Lyons]: Johann Klein, [no date]. Folio.

This book was included, though with some hesitation, in the Check List of Morgan Incunabula (no. 1588) with the date [1500]; it was entered in accordance with the principle that a book described as an Incunabulum in a previous catalogue should be treated as such until conclusive evidence to the contrary is established. This volume was previously in the George Dunn collection and was listed in

Francis Jenkinson's List of the Dunn Incunabula (no. 1230). It does not belong to the edition described under GW 2:2193 (3)-(Second Census A 784).

A recent study of the text-type employed in this book indicates that the volume was printed in the sixteenth century. This type is a late state of Trechsel's type 4:67G, which came into Klein's possession upon his marrying Trechsel's widow in 1498. In the present book, this type displays certain new characters, chiefly a new capital M (Haebler's M 91A)—though the original one (Haebler M 17) is also found—and several new lower-case letters (g, i, etc.). The state of the type in this *Summa* is very close to that shown by Claudin (IV, 282) for the Valascus de Tarenta of 14 November 1501. The edition to which this *Tertia Pars* belongs is almost certainly the *Summa* of 1506 described by Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, XII, 278.

The present volume is in an early, blind-tooled calf, binding by Nicholas Spierinck of Cambridge. The verso of the first fly-leaf contains a note of unusual interest reading:

Be hit knowyn to all men by this my hond writyng that I Ric. Vowel priest do clearly renown[c]e & ffor sake all & synguler the *contentes* in thys booke. and in all other bookes whyche do or seme in any wyse to exalte or sett furth the superioryte or preemynense of the Bysshope of rome. or that do make any thyng more or lesse of wsurpyd power or facultyes. And all other thynges whyche be agenst my allegians in any wyse. I wtterly renownce & refuse them expresly by this my owne hond writyng.

By me Ric Vowel. a-boue writen.

Throughout the volume, the word "Papa" has been carefully inked out.

The writer of this entry seems to be the Richard Vowell who was the nineteenth and last Prior of the Austin Canons of Walsingham, Norfolk. His signature appears at the head of the list of subscribers to the Acknowledgement of the King's Supremacy (18 September 1534) and on 20 October 1539 he surrendered Walsingham. The present notation may well be connected with the fact that Vowell was granted a pension of £100 a year (a very considerable sum in those days) following the dissolution of the Priory.

CURT F. BÜHLER

THE | WHOLE WORKS | OF | HOMER; | PRINCE OF POETTS | In his
Iliads, and | Odysses. | Tranflated according to the Greeke. | By | Geo:
Chapman. | ... At London printed for Nathaniell Butter. | ... [1616?].

Richard Hooper, writing in the middle nineteenth century,¹ appears to have been the first modern scholar to note that there were at least two issues of Chapman's *The whole works*, which is entry No. 13624 in *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland . . . 1475-1640*, compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1926), cited hereafter as *STC*.

The first issue appeared in 1616. It consists of the unsold sheets of the 1611 [?] *Iliads* (*STC* 13634) and the 1615[?] *Odysses* (*STC* 13637) bound together.

¹ Richard Hooper, ed., *The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets . . . Done according to the Greeke by George Chapman . . . Second Edition* (London, John Russell Smith, 1865), I:liv.

The *Iliads* title-page (sig. *1) is cancelled by two engraved leaves of which the first is the *Whole works* title-page with a portrait of Chapman on the verso and the second bears a memorial engraving to Prince Henry on its recto with the verso blank.

In the other issue, as Hooper observes, the *Iliads* were reprinted. On the evidence of paper, type, and orthography, he judged the reprint to be "considerably later in date than 1616."

In 1903 Dr. W. W. Greg² suggested that this later issue "was probably printed about 1640" because of "the constant use of 'v' medially" and because two of the reprinted *Iliads* headpieces also appear "(with the same break in the St. Francis) in a book printed, probably by T. Harper in 1641 (namely the reprint of 'The Devil is an Asse' found in some copies of the second volume of Ben Jonson's works)." In addition, he noted that a printed (instead of an engraved) *Odyssees* title-page may be found in some copies.

The Pforzheimer catalogue³ also dates the reprinted *Iliads* "about 1640" because Butter assigned the copyright to Flesher in 1639, and names Thomas Harper as the printer, suggesting in addition that the printed *Odyssees* title-page may have "some connection with the reprint of c.1640" because it contains an ornament used, when somewhat less damaged, by Harper in printing Massinger's *Emperor of the East*, 1632.

The ornamental initials, however, indicate that Harper reprinted the *Iliads* in 1633 or 1634. The slight break in the initial A, sig. Gg5v, and the break in the initial W, sig. Elr, first appeared in 1633 while Harper was printing S. Latham, *Lathams falconry* (STC 15269) and W. Vaughan, *Directions for health . . . the seuenth edition* (STC 24618) respectively; cf. the different states of the initial A on pt. 1, sig. 1r and pt. 2, sig. 13r of the *Falconry* and of the initial W on sig. C3r and D4r and later in the *Directions*. The initial T with one break, *Iliads* sig. Gg4r, received an additional break in 1634 during the printing of A. Maxey, *Certaine sermons . . . seuenth edition* (STC 17694), as is shown by the different states of the initial on sig. Q6r and Z1v; see also the initial on sig. D2r of R. Bolton, *Instructions for a right comforting afflicted consciences*, 2nd ed., 1635 (STC 3239).

In the Harmsworth-Folger copy of the *Whole works* containing Harper's *Iliads* there is also a printed *Odyssees* title-page probably identical with the printed title-page noted by Greg and the Pforzheimer catalogue. Apparently it was printed by Harper at the same time as the *Iliads* reprint since it employs, as the Pforzheimer catalogue notes, one of Harper's ornaments. Moreover, the leaf with which this printed title-page is conjugate, *Od.*, A5, is a cancel with medial 'v' used throughout its text. Possibly the printed title-page was intended to cancel the engraved *Odyssees* title-page, which names Richard Field as printer, but it is difficult to account for the cancel A5 since its text differs from that of the original A5 only in that A5r, l. 31 was omitted in reprinting, obviously by error. In the Harmsworth-Folger copy of Harper's *Whole works* the engraved *Odyssees* title-page is pasted in immediately before Harper's printed title.

PAUL S. DUNKIN

² In his *Catalogue of the Books Presented by Edward Capell to the Library of Trinity College in Cambridge . . .* (Cambridge, Printed for Trinity College at the University Press, 1903), Pp. 65-67.

³ *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English Literature 1475-1700* (New York: Privately Printed, 1940), I: no. 169-170.

THE RIGHTS OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES ESTABLISHED IN AMERICA STATED AND DEFENDED; their Merits and Importance to Great Britain Displayed; with Illustration of the Benefits of their Union, and of the Mischiefs and Dangers of their continued Dissention. . . . London: J. Almon, MDCCLXXIV.

[2], 51 p. 4°.

Sabin 71380.

William Bollan acknowledges the authorship of this piece in the following extract of a letter written to James Bowdoin on December 6, 1774: "After various avocations unavoidable, & great, expensive changes of my first plan of proceeding, conforming to the varying state of the times, to ascertain the rights of the Colonies & promote their interest in the most beneficial manner, I completed my defence of their civil rights, & on the meeting of the new Parliamt, which I judged the most convenient time, after presenting numerous copies to noble & other worthy persons, published it under the title of 'The Rights of the English Colonies estab^d in America stated & defended; their merits & importance to Great Britain display^d, with illustrations of the benefits of their union & of the mischiefs & dangers of their continued dissention,' and purposed to send by the Diogenes, which will sail ere long, but not so soon as I expected, 100 copies address'd to M^r Erving, to whom I pray you will give my best compliments." This letter is printed in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 6th ser., IX: 379-381.

STEPHEN T. RILEY

[MURRAY, JUDITH (SARGENT) STEVENS.] SOME DEDUCTIONS FROM THE SYSTEM PROMULGATED IN THE PAGE OF DIVINE REVELATION: Ranged in the Order and Form of a Catechism: intended as an Assistant to the Christian Parent or Teacher . . . Portsmouth, New-Hampshire: Printed in the year M,DCC,LXXXII.

[A]-D⁴ (8vo in half sheets); iv, [5]-32 p.

Evans 17728; Sabin 91549. *Copies*: AAS, LC, HCL, HEH, JCB, NYPL, WLC.

That this work, previously attributed by Allibone, Evans, and Sabin simply to "Judith Stevens," was written by Mrs. Murray, the essayist and wife of John Murray, is more than probable. Its attribution to Judith Stevens is undoubtedly based on contemporary annotations such as that on the Harvard copy which reads "The gift of Mrs. Judith Stevens of Cape Ann. The Authoress." Mrs. Murray's first husband, Captain John Stevens, did not die until about 1786, but in 1788 she married John Murray, the founder of American Universalism. The reference to Cape Ann supports its ascription to Mrs. Murray, since she was at the time a resident of Gloucester.

The pamphlet itself is an exposition of Universalist views: in describing the copy he was sending C. D. Ebeling, in Hamburg, the Reverend William Bentley spoke of it as "the first publication which appeared under the eyes of John Murray, a Disciple of Relly in England, as a Universalist in America."

By attributing the tract to Mrs. Murray, it becomes the earliest of her published works, antedating her contributions to Boston periodicals and the stage, by which she is perhaps better known.

A second edition was published in the same year in Norwich, Connecticut (Evans 17729; Sabin 91550. *Copies*: AAS, HEH).

JOHN ALDEN

EDITIONS OF LITTLE & SMITH'S *Easy Instructor*

1807

THE EASY INSTRUCTOR, | or, a new method of teaching | sacred harmony. | Containing, | the rudiments of music on an improved plan, wherein the naming and timing of the notes are familiarized | to the weakest capacity. | With a choice collection of psalm tunes and anthems from the most celebrated authors, with a number com- | posed in Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the metres sung in the different churches in the | United States. | Published for the use of singing societies in general, but more particularly for those who have not the advan- | tage of an instructor. | [*ilet*] | By William Little and William Smith. | [*row of ornaments*] | Albany: | Printed by Websters & Skinner and Daniel Steele, proprietors of the copy-right; and sold at their respective bookstores, at the | corner of State & Pearl-Streets, and a few doors south of the court-house in Court-Street. | 1807. |

108 p. 23.5 x 13.5 cm.

Title in ornamental border.

In the more carefully collated copies, pp. 9-12 are reported wanting.

1808

108 p. 23.5 x 13.5 cm.

Apparently identical with the preceding except for date; no pages reported wanting in copies known.

1811

THE EASY INSTRUCTOR; | or, | A new method of teaching | Sacred Harmony. | Containing, | I. The Rudiments of Music on an Improved Plan, wherein the Naming and Timing of the Notes are familiarized to | the weakest Capacity. | II. A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems, from the most celebrated Authors, with a number composed in | Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the Metres sung in the different Churches in the United States. | [*long rule*] | Published for the Use of

Singing Societies in general, but more particularly for those who have not had the advantage of an Instructor. | [*long rule*] | By William Little and William Smith. | [*long rule*] | Printed, typographically, at Albany, | by Websters and Skinner & Daniel Steele, (Proprietors of the Copy-Right,) | And sold at their respective Book-Stores, at the corner of State and Pearl-streets, and a few doors south of the Old City-Hall, in Court-street; by T. & J. | Swords, Everet Duyckinck and William Falconer, New-York; Wm. J. M'Cartee, Schenectady; A. Seward, Utica; Tracy & Bliss, | Lansingburgh; Parker & Bliss, Troy; and Increase Cook, New-Haven. | [*rule*] | Van Benthuyssen & Newton, typographers. | [1811?]

104 p. 22 x 13 cm.

Title in ornamental border; verso blank.

The only dated imprint known from the press of Van Benthuyssen & Newton is of 1811.

1812

— — — | Printed, typographically, at Albany, | by Websters and Skinner & Daniel Steele, (Proprietors of the Copy-Right,) | And sold at their respective Book-Stores, at the corner of State and Pearl-streets, and a few doors south of the Old City-Hall, in Court-street; by T. & J. | Swords, Everet Duyckinck and William Falconer, New-York; Wm. J. M'Cartee, Schenectady; A. Seward, Utica; Tracy & Bliss, | Lansingburgh; Parker & Bliss, Troy; Increase Cook, New-Haven; and M. Cary, Philadelphia. | [*rule*] | Van Benthuyssen & Newton, typographers. | [1812?]

104 p. 22.5 x 13 cm.

Apparently identical with the preceding except for additional names of booksellers on the title-page.

1813

— — — | Printed, typographically, at Albany, | by Websters and Skinner & Daniel Steele, (Proprietors of the Copy-Right,) | And sold at their respective Book-Stores, at the corner of State and Pearl-streets, and a few doors south of the Old City-Hall, in Court-street; by T. & J. | Swords, Everet Duyckinck and William Falconer, New-York; Wm. J. M'Cartee, Schenectady; A. Seward, Utica; Tracy & Bliss, | Lansingburgh; Parker & Bliss, Troy; Increase Cook, New-Haven; J. Bogert, Geneva; J. D. Bemis, Canandaigua; P. Potter, Poughkeepsie; E. Lewis, Newburgh, and D. Allenson & Co., Burlington, N. J. | [*rule*] | O. R. Van Benthuyssen, typographer. | [1813?]

104 p. 22 x 13 cm.

Title as preceding except for additions of booksellers' names and typographer. Printed after the dissolution of the firm of Van Benthuyssen & Newton and before the formation of the firm of Packard & Van Benthuyssen.

1814

— — — | Printed, typographically, at Albany, | by Websters and Skinner & Daniel Steele, (Proprietors of the Copy-Right,) | And sold at their respective Book-Stores at the corner of State and Pearl-streets, and a few doors south of the Old City-Hall, in Court-street, by T. & J. | Swords, and Evert Duyckinck, New-York; Wm. J. M'Cartee, Schenectady; A. Seward, Utica; Tracy & Bliss, Lansingburgh; Parker & | Bliss, Troy; Increase Cook, New-Haven; M. Cary, Philadelphia; J. Bogert, Geneva; J. D. Bemis, Canandaigua; P. Potter, Poughkeepsie; E. Lewis, Newburgh. | [*rule*] | Packard & Van Benthuyssen, typographers. | [1814?]

112 p. 22 x 13 cm.

Title in border of typographical ornaments; verso blank. With exception of imprint, title reads as in the preceding edition.

The Oakley copy in the Newberry Library is dated 1814 in a contemporary hand, apparently indicating that it was in print not later than that date.

1815

— — — | Printed, typographically, at Albany | by Websters & Skinners and Daniel Steele, (Proprietors of the Copy-Right,) | And sold at their respective Book-Stores, at the Corner of State and Pearl-streets, and a few doors south of the Old City-Hall, in Court-street; by T. & J. | Swords, and Evert Duyckinck, New-York; A. Seward, Utica; Tracy & Bliss, Lansingburgh; Parker & Bliss, and Solomon Weller, Jun. | Troy; Increase Cook, New-Haven; Matthew Cary, Philadelphia; J. Bogert, Geneva; J. D. Bemis, Canandaigua; P. Potter, Poughkeepsie; | William E. Norman, Hudson. | [*short rule*] | Packard & Van Benthuyssen, typographers. | [1815?]

112 p. 22 x 13.5 cm.

Apparently identical except for imprint with the preceding.

When this impression was published, the Schenectady agency had been relinquished by W. J. M'Cartee and had not yet been assumed by Riggs & Stevens.

1817

THE EASY INSTRUCTOR; | or, | A new method of teaching | Sacred Harmony. | Containing, | I. The Rudiments of Music on an improved Plan,

wherein the Naming and Timing of the Notes are familiarized to the weakest | Capacity. | II. A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems, from the most celebrated Authors, with a number composed in Europe | and America, entirely new; suited to all the Metres sung in the different Churches in the United States. | [*long rule*] | By William Little and William Smith. | [*long wavy rule*] | Published for the Use of Singing Societies in general, but more particularly for those who have not had the advantage of an Instructor. | [*long rule*] | Printed, typographically, at Albany, | by Websters & Skinners and Daniel Steele, (Proprietors of the Copy-Right) | And sold at their respective Book-Stores, at the corner of State and Pearl-streets, and a few doors south of the Old City-Hall, in Court-street, by T. & J. | Swords and Evert Duyckinck, New-York; Riggs & Stevens, Schenectady; A. Seward, Utica; Tracy & Bliss, Lansingburgh; Parker & Bliss, Troy; M. Carey, Philadelphia; J. Bogert, Geneva; J. D. Bemis, Canandaigua; P. Potter, Poughkeepsie; E. Lewis, Newburgh. | [*double rule*] | Packard & Van Benthuyssen, typographers. | [1817?]

112 p. 22 x 13 cm.

Title in border of typographical ornaments; verso blank.

This edition was printed after the establishment at Schenectady of the firm of Riggs & Stevens and before the appearance of revised and enlarged editions of 127 pages or more.

LESTER CONDIT

[DEWEY, MELVIL]. *A Classification and Subject Index for Cataloguing and Arranging the Books and Pamphlets of a Library*. [By Melvil Dewey] Amherst, Mass., 1876. 42 [or 44] pp. 9⁷/₈ x 6¹/₂ inches.

It is about time something definitive was being said about the first edition of Melvil Dewey's Decimal Classification, published in 1876 under the title, *A Classification and Subject Index for Cataloguing and Arranging the Books and Pamphlets of a Library*. But before this can be done, certain additional data are required.

The principal questions to be answered are: How many forms of this first edition were issued and in what order?

In the Decimal Classification Editorial Office at the Library of Congress there are three different forms of this first edition—a pamphlet form of 42 numbered pages, a bound form with 42 pages, and a bound form with 44 numbered pages. The pamphlet form has a blue-gray paper cover, the front cover reproducing the title-page, the back cover containing a discussion of the "Subject Catalogue" not found in the 42-page bound form. The 44-page bound form contains this same "Subject Catalogue" material somewhat expanded on pp. [43]-44.

The 44-page form came into the possession of the Decimal Classification Editorial Office in 1933. Prior to that time the editors had not been aware that any copies of this first edition contained more than 42 pages, as indicated in the tabular history of the various editions printed in the introduction to every edition of the full D.C. tables since the third.

Does anyone know of other copies of the 44-page form? Was this first edition issued in any other forms than those mentioned above? Can a sequence of issue be established?

The pamphlet form corresponds closely to the E. C. Richardson copy with a number of slight corrections. The most important difference is that the Richardson copy was one of several printed as proof, bearing the following statement at the head of cover-title and of title-page:

PROOF.—Please examine this as soon as practicable, mark any corrections or suggestions, and return | to the *Librarian, Amherst College*. The matter is held in type for a few days, to allow any desirable change | before the edition is printed. It is earnestly requested that you criticise freely and fully. Please note | specially mistakes which have crept into the Index in the hurried proof-reading. Also suggest headings for | the places left blank, and any alterations in names or arrangement. May we hear from you within a week?

This Richardson copy is that acquired, advertised and sold by the Brick Row Book Shop of New York City and of which they subsequently had a limited number of copies reprinted to meet the demand.

MYRON WARREN GETCHELL

CONRAD, JOSEPH. *Suspense*.

A comparison between printed text of part of Part III, Chapter I, First Edition (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1925) and Conrad's holograph corrected typescript covering the same passage.

Corrected Typescript

III
I

P. 238, L. 12.

A master of the world, Mr. Latham, is very small potatoes; and I will tell you why: it's because he is alone of his kind, stuck up like a *man* in the pillory, for dead cats and cabbage stalks to be thrown at him. A devil of a position to be in unless for a *monster*. But no man born of woman is a monster. There never was such a thing. A man who *gets the name of a monster* arouses nothing but loathing and hatred.

First Edition Printed Text

III
I

P. 181, L. 23.

A master of the world, Mr. Latham, is very small potatoes; and I will tell you why: it's because he is alone of his kind, stuck up like a *thief* in the pillory, for dead cats and cabbage stalks to be thrown at him. A devil of a position to be in unless for a *moment*. But no man born of woman is a monster. There never was such a thing. A man who *would really be a monster* would arouse nothing but loathing and hatred.

The substitution of the word "moment" in the printed text for the word "monster" in the typescript, seems to have been a type-setter's or a proof-reader's error. Obviously, from the context of the next sentence, the word in the printed text should have been "monster."

The text of the First Edition (Garden City, 1925) quoted above is identical with that of the First English Edition (London, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1925). The Typescript of Chapters I and II of Part III complete is in my collection. Both Dent and Doubleday have assured me that the text will be corrected in their next editions of *Suspense*.

FRED BATES JOHNSON

[The following letter was addressed to Mr. Johnson.]

(COPY)

Merifield House
Bower Hinton
Martock
Somerset
England

3/3/46

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of January 3rd., with the very interesting extracts from the corrected typescript and the printed text of *Suspense*.

It seems clear enough that "monster" is the right word, but I think it just possible that Conrad when altering the proofs—he did this freely, as you will gather from the other changes between the typescript and the text which the passage you cite reveal—changed "monster" into "moment" without appreciating fully what he was doing. This explanation is probably not so reasonable as yours—i.e. that it was a mere's [*sic*] printer's mistake—but seeing how different a word "monster" is from "moment"—different, that is to say, to a skilled compositor—I don't think it can be entirely dismissed. To some extent, of course, it may depend on the clearness of the word in the typescript.

Thank you again for your courtesy in letting me see this curious change; I feel inclined to ask the publishers over here to have it altered for their next edition.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) RICHARD CURLE

Book Reviews

MILLARES CARLO, AGUSTÍN, and JOSÉ IGNACIO MANTECÓN. *Ensayo de una bibliografía de bibliografías mexicanas (la imprenta, el libro, las bibliotecas, etc.)* por Agustín Millares Carlo y José Ignacio Mantecón. México, Oficina de Bibliotecas, Dirección de Acción Social, Departamento del Distrito Federal. 1943 [i.e. 1944]. xvi, 224 pp. 9 x 6¾ inches. (Biblioteca de la II Feria del Libro y Exposición nacional del Periodismo) — . . . *Adiciones I* *Nota preliminar* de Arturo García Formenti. Mexico, 1944. [46] pp. 9 x 6¾ inches.

SOKUROVA, MILITSA VENEDIKTOVNA. Общие библиографии книг гражданской печати, 1708-1937. Аннотированный указатель под редакцией и со вступительной статьей А. Д. Эйхенгольца. Ленинград, 1944. [192] p. fold. table. 9 x 5¾ inches. (Труды Государственной Ордена Трудового красного знамени Публичной библиотеки им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина. том I)

The new and quite extensive bibliography of Mexican bibliographies prepared by Agustín Millares Carlo and José Ignacio Mantecón as a contribution on behalf of the Oficina de bibliotecas of the Mexican Federal District to the Second Book Fair at Mexico City in May 1943¹ has the title beginning rather modestly with the word *Ensayo*.

Agustín Millares Carlo has among other things made contributions in the field of Spanish paleography, published a biobibliography of writers from the Canary islands in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and in very recent years has been in charge of the bibliographical sections of the following Mexican reviews: *Filosofía y letras*, *Letras de México*, and *Revista de historia de América*. And José Ignacio Mantecón has been his associate.

The work by Millares Carlo and Mantecón was preceded by the brochure of the erudite Dr. Nicolás León issued in 1923, by the work of the able bibliographer Juan Bautista Iguíniz printed in *El libro y el pueblo* during 1933, and by the Mexican section of C. K. Jones's *A Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies* (2d ed., 1942). A supplement to the *Ensayo* under the title *Adiciones I* was printed as a contribution of the Mexican Fed-

¹ Although not finally printed until 1944.

eral District to the Third Book Fair at Mexico City in 1944. In 1945 Julián Amo presented in the *Anuario bibliográfico mexicano de 1941 y 1942* on pp. 149-157, a select *Bibliografía de bibliografías mexicanas más usuales* including eighty-eight titles, in alphabetical order, at the same time calling attention to Millares Carlo.

In a way, the Millares Carlos is extensive in that it includes a first section of four hundred and fifty titles devoted to general bibliographies of America with important references to Mexico. The second, and main section is comprised of Mexican bibliographies and studies concerning printing, libraries and the book arts. In another way it is extensive in that references to periodical articles, particularly such as those in *El libro y el pueblo* are included as well as books and other separately issued publications, and some reference to works in manuscript. Its extensiveness is marked in still another way by the gathering in of references on libraries and library economy, on book collecting, and for the first time by a listing of facsimile editions produced in Mexico as well as Mexican works issued abroad.

Both sections are classified, and that of the main Mexican section which is slightly more elaborate is about as follows: 1. Bibliographies of bibliographies, 2. General bibliographies, 3. Bibliographies of individuals, 4. Collective bibliographies, 5. Indexes of periodicals and collections, 6. Regional bibliographies, 7. Bibliographies of special topics, 8. Printing, 9. Periodicals, 10. Catalogues of Books, 11. Library economy, 12. Bibliographical periodicals, 13. Bibliophily, 14. Bibliographical essays, 15. Publications of entities, 16. Facsimile editions.

Classification in itself poses some special problems such as the choice between Regional Bibliographies, Printing, and Periodicals. Regional Bibliographies would include not only material printed in the state and locality but material about the state and locality. Printing might include not only the history of printing but as well a list of works printed in the state or locality. Periodicals might also include substantially all the printing in a state or locality, since the earlier printing was for the most part devoted to newspapers and periodicals. In event of a revision, it would seem that the subsection Regional Bibliographies might well have the preference over Printing and Periodicals. As it is, the index brings these references together, and the index in the supplement covers the whole work.

The problem of the most workable classification or arrangement of a bibliography of bibliographies may be examined further in the well-planned *Bibliografías cubanas*² prepared by Fermín Peraza y Sarausa, Director of

² Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. xiv, 58 pp. 9 x 6 inches. (Library of Congress. Latin American series no. 7.)

the Municipal Library at Havana, Cuba, during his stay at the Library of Congress through the months of April to July, 1944. His first part is devoted to Cuban general bibliographies, the second part to bibliographies alphabetically by topic, and the third part to bibliographies of individuals. A careful index concludes the work of seventy-two pages in all.

The subsection Collective Bibliographies (*Bibliografías colectivas de autores de clase especial*) includes the national bibliography of Mexico by centuries and the *Anuarios bibliográficos*. While the sixteenth century is covered by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, the seventeenth by Vicente de P. Andrade, and the eighteenth by Nicolás León, the nineteenth is represented almost solely by the single *Anuario bibliográfico nacional* for the year 1888 prepared by Luis González Obregon. A reference to the list of current copyright registrations buried in the *Diario oficial* would have been helpful in eking out the record of the national bibliography however partial or imperfect it may be. For the twentieth century, there is first the *Anuario bibliográfico mexicano* prepared by Felipe Teixidor for each of the three years 1931, 1932, and 1933, and published by the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. Next there is the quarterly *Bibliografía mexicana* by Francisco J. Gamoneda, published by Asociación de Libreros de México for the years 1938, 1939, and the beginning of 1940. With the well-made *Anuario bibliográfico mexicano de 1940* prepared by Julián Amo, the Mexican Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores through its Departamento de Información para el Extranjero takes renewed interest in publishing the current national bibliography of Mexico. It is to be hoped that under the able Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera as secretary of foreign relations of Mexico the Department may feel so encouraged by the response to the volumes for 1940 and 1941-1942 as to subsidize in addition to the current volumes a work covering the period 1934 through 1937 as well as one for the period 1901 through 1930. These would do much to emphasize the considerable contribution made in many fields by the Mexican authors during these periods, thus covering the twentieth century.

Such bibliographies of bibliography with their renewed stock-taking of the status of national bibliography³ are always most welcome and usually are harbingers of renewed activity, in this instance of a report of organization of a Sociedad Mexicana de Bibliografía in December 1945.

³ A summary stock-taking of the status of the national bibliography in the Argentine Republic was made by Teodoro Becu, in his *La bibliografía en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1945, 34 pp.).

A Russian bibliography of bibliographies to be completed in four volumes is most auspiciously initiated by a guide to the general works, 1708-1937. A second volume is to be devoted to bibliographical periodicals, a third to bibliographies of bibliographies of bibliography, and a fourth to historical bibliography. An added title-page in English might be a temptation for an enthusiast to proceed even further and to present in English the substantial twenty-page preface by A. D. Eihengolz as a running account of Russian national bibliography. In the past the tendency has been for information on Russian bibliography to rely upon second-hand accounts in continental European sources. Now is the time for the United States to assume here as elsewhere leadership in making more widely and directly known the Russian genius in bibliography, considerable as it seems to be.

The whole guide is grouped around the seventy-three titles, arranged approximately in the order of the period covered by each and carefully annotated. Under each title is given a precise description, brief note of author and editors, as well as references to critical and descriptive articles.

While the *Guide* passes in review the bibliographical works beginning with the earliest *Reestr knigam grazhdanskim*, 1710, and continuing through 1937, the greatest attention is devoted with twenty-two pages to the current record under the title *Knizhnaia letopis'* (Book annals). In 1907 this began at St. Petersburg as the weekly bibliographical record of the Glavnoe upravlenie po dielam pečati, the general administration for the press or censorship in the Ministry of the interior. After the Revolution in 1917, the *Knizhnaia letopis'* assumed status as the scientific organ of national bibliography, being the weekly classified record of books published. The Glavnoe upravlenie po dielam pečati was liquidated in 1917 and replaced by the Knizhnaia palata (Book chamber) at the initiative of, and under the direction of the famous bibliographer, Professor S. A. Vengerov. In 1919 the chamber was designated as the Rossiiskaia knizhnaia palata. In 1920 the *Knizhnaia letopis'* was transferred from Leningrad to Moscow. In 1925 the Book chamber was designated as the Gosudarstvennaia tsentralnaia knizhnaia palata RSFSR, and 1936 as the Vsesoiuznaia knizhnaia palata.

The function of the Book Chamber in Moscow is not only to receive a copy of each current publication for registration and recording in the *Knizhnaia letopis'* but also multiple copies of most current works for systematic deposit in various larger libraries throughout the country, and in addition to serve as a national center for bibliographical work.

The attempt of the Vsesoiuznaia knizhnaia palata has been to present in the *Knizhnaia letopis'* as full a current record as possible of the diverse publications placed on sale or made available for public distribution in the Soviet

Union, particularly the RSFSR. Sheet music and maps are included. Through the work of book chambers in various republics, each publishing their own book annals with particular emphasis on the record of material in their vernaculars, such as Ukraine (1924), White Russia (1925), Armenia (1925), Georgia (1926), Azerbaidjan (1926), Uzbekistan (1928), Turkmenistan (1930), Tataria (1930) and Bashkiria (1935), completeness of coverage for the Soviet Union is attainable.

During the period from 1907 through 1937 the greatest number of entries in the *Knizhnaia letopis'* was 42,892 in 1936, and the fewest 5,326 in 1918. During the darkest days of the first World War and the period immediately following the *Knizhnaia letopis'* continued without actual interruption, in the year 1918 the fifty normal issues being consolidated into thirteen.

Thorough understanding and use of such basic reference guides as this admirable work of M. V. Sokurova, as well as of the current *Knizhnaia letopis'*, would do much towards ensuring the development of adequate collections in the United States of material in all fields of learning from the Soviet Union.

JAMES B. CHILDS

HOUSMAN, A. E. *Jubilee Edition. A Shropshire Lad*. By A. E. Housman with Notes and a Bibliography by Carl J. Weber. Waterville, Maine, Colby College Library, 1946. 125, [2] pp. 7¾ x 5 inches. \$3.00.

In a land which has seen dozens of editions published since 1897 of A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad*, a new printing of these lyrics seems hardly to warrant a full review. But Professor Carl J. Weber's edition, issued on the occasion of the *Lad's* semicentennial anniversary and the presentation to the Colby Library of his extensive collection of the *Lad*, is more than just another reprint. For in this volume, with its appended bibliography, notes, and general comments on the poems, Housman's verses are brought within the periphery of scholarship.

Although A. E. H. no doubt would have been astonished at the inclusion of a bibliography and other academic impedimenta in an edition of *A Shropshire Lad*, the attractiveness of the present volume—its format and binding, and its general handiness—would, I am sure, have pleased him. But as he was plagued all his days after first publication of the *Lad* by misprints and errors, which he termed "filthy," "outrageous," "disgraceful," and "disgusting" (and which he once characterized as "deliberate"!), so

some errors arise in this new printing to haunt him: *on Monday* for *of Monday* in III, 9 (corrected in the *Corrigenda* issued since the volume was published); *turn* for *turns* in XXII, 3; a dash missing at the beginning of V, 7; a semicolon for a colon in XIV, 2; a comma for a semicolon in XXII, 10; a period for a colon in XXV, 10; a comma missing at the end of XXXIII, 10; a semicolon for a colon in XLIX, 1; and a missing comma after *Years* in LI, 19. In using *well nigh* for *well-nigh* in XXXVII, 10; and *half way* for *half-way* in LXII, 31, Professor Weber follows the readings of the first (1896) edition, although more than twenty Richards editions used the hyphenated words, and the 1903 edition has *wellnigh* and *halfway*.

The "Notes on the Poems" contains considerable material that may prove helpful to some in reading the verses. Professor Weber has made an interesting attempt to assess the relative popularity of the different verses by recording the number of times he has found them reprinted in twenty-five American anthologies covering the poetry of Housman's period. The order of their popularity as he discovers it is as follows: IV (printed in 18 of the 25), LIV (16), II (13), XIX (13), and XIII (11). Examination of a greater number of anthologies would have changed the order: II (printed in 66 of 115), LIV (53 of 115), IV and XIII (51 each), and XIX (42).

The most valuable portions of the book are: the note on *Fifty Years of "A Shropshire Lad,"* a brief review of the growth of Housman's reputation; and the *Semicentennial Bibliography*. These present material not previously readily available and are a useful addition to Housman bibliography. They should be approached with some caution, however, in order that those who use them with a serious purpose be not misled. Professor Weber has observed here, for example, that a review of the *Lad* in *The Daily Tatler* dated November 19, 1896, introduced Housman to America; but there had been a previous review here: a reprint of Grant Richards' review in the *London Review of Reviews* published in the *New York Review of Reviews* for September 1896 (14:371). And Professor Weber's statement, that although the bibliography is "strictly confined to listing and describing the books in the Colby collection" it is "an almost complete bibliography of *A Shropshire Lad*," should be taken with a grain of salt. The bibliography lists and describes sixty-six editions and printings; a complete list compiled by the same standards would show more than a hundred items. A note in the description of the 1914 Riccardi Press edition says that "For five years thereafter, further British publication of the poems was interrupted by the first World War." Actually, further editions were

brought out by Richards in 1915 and 1918. The Haldeman-Julius edition of 1931 is termed a "reprint" of "Little Blue Book No. 306." It was in fact an entirely new printing; the 1920 edition had been labelled "Ten Cent Pocket Series No. 306."

But such discrepancies are not highly significant in a work which does not pretend to be a definitive bibliography. Colby College must certainly feel very grateful to Professor Weber for presenting the Library with the collection he describes, and collectors and admirers owe the Maine scholar a debt for his contribution to *A Shropshire Lad* bibliography. Added to matter in three books (by A. S. F. Gow, Theodore G. Ehrsam, and Grant Richards), and in several articles in such periodicals as *American Notes & Queries*, the late *Bibliographical Notes & Queries*, *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America, the *Publishers' Weekly*, the *London Times Literary Supplement* and especially *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society: The Library*, the present compilation brings us that much nearer to a truly complete bibliography.

WILLIAM WHITE

WHITMAN EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Every collector under the magic spell of bibliomania has something to contribute to the permanent knowledge of his or her hobby, especially so if interest is focused on a single author.

During the past year there have been two notable Walt Whitman exhibitions, each one of which rendered a special service to collectors, bibliographers and libraries by publication of a catalogue of the entire exhibition.

The first was sponsored by the Friends of the Detroit Public Library, the three hundred twenty-two Whitman items shown being lent by some twenty-five libraries and individual collectors. Included were numerous editions of *Leaves of Grass*, other Whitman writings and works about the poet as well as many fine Whitman autographs and manuscripts. Number 290 in the catalogue lists an original, hitherto unpublished, sketch in color of Whitman by Percy Ives, dated April 6, 1882. A photographic reproduction of this painting is used on the catalogue cover.

The other exhibition was of the splendid Trent collection of Whitmaniana presented to Duke University Library by Dr. and Mrs. Josiah C. Trent. The handsome descriptive catalogue of about one hundred and fifty pages issued by the library has a long and most interesting preface by the compiler, Miss Ellen Frances Frey and a complete index. In addition to

the many books by and about Whitman (including first editions and autographed copies, and an impressive number of autograph manuscripts by Whitman and his early biographers, important letters from, to and concerning the author and his family) there are fourteen full-page illustrations, facsimiles of manuscripts in the collection and a frontispiece reproduction of a photograph of the poet with the Johnston children, signed and dated. A unique feature of the catalogue is a reproduction of the first number of the *Brooklyn Freeman*, September 9, 1848, which illustrates Whitman's early activities as journalist and editor. This is folded and inserted in a pocket inside the back cover.

HARRIET SPRAGUE